The Outlook

MAY 19, 1915

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

Address all mail communications to The Outlook Company, Box 37, Madison Square Branch P. O., New York City

THE LUSITANIA MASSACRE

I—WHAT SHOULD AMERICA DO?

THE sinking of the Lusitania was not an act of war, it was a crime—the crime of murder. "War is a public armed contest between nations, under the sanction of international law, to establish justice between them." In the sinking of the Lusitania there was no armed contest, and the fundamental moralities of international law were violated. War is cruel; but it is not lawless. It is killing; but it is not murder. No such wholesale massacre of unarmed and defenseless victims has been perpetrated in modern warfare since Bonaparte's massacre of defenseless prisoners on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea at Jaffa.

Has America any duty to disown this crime against itself, against the civilized world, against humanity?

We have seen American men murdered and American women violated in Mexico, and done nothing. We have seen the neutrality of weak nations violated, private property destroyed, defenseless cities bombarded, churches and hospitals, which civilized warfare has always regarded as sacred, demolished, and have said nothing. We have seen one American ship on the high seas bombarded from the air, and another torpedoed from the sea, and have declared that if another American life is lost we shall call the assailant to "a strict accountability." Now over a hundred American lives are lost. What shall we do? What ought we to do?

Does America owe any duty of protection to its citizens in foreign lands and on the high seas? Patient waiting has done nothing. Protesting words have done nothing. In the presence of wholesale assassination The Outlook is not neutral. We believe the time has come for National action. In such a crisis courage is a duty and timidity a crime.

We need not wait for official investigation. The murder is exultantly avowed. We need not wait for judicial investigation of the defenses offered. The War Zone? No nation has a right to put an invisible fence around a section of the open sea and warn all neutral nations off as trespassers, at the peril of their lives. Warning given? When did warning of an intent to commit murder serve as an excuse for the murder perpetrated? The Lusitania was armed? She was not armed; but she had a right to be. The Constitution of the United States recognizes the right of peaceable citizens to bear arms; international law recognizes to a similar reasonable degree the right of peaceable vessels to bear arms. She was carrying contraband? Then she might be sunk; but not until the safety of her crew and passengers was assured. Great Britain is starving Germany, therefore Germany has a right to murder American citizens? A strange logic! But Great Britain is not starving Germany. The laws of war forbid the murder of the unarmed, but they also declare in explicit terms that "it is lawful to starve a hostile belligerent, armed or unarmed, so that it leads to the speedier subjection of the enemy." The invention of air-ships and submarines has changed international law? John Bassett Moore is our authority for saying that it has not changed international law. Certainly it has not changed the Ten Commandments. The use of a novel instrument does not change the nature of the crime. Murder is still murder; and killing unarmed noncombatants in cold blood the conscience of all civilized nations still condemns as murder.

The time for words has passed; the time for National action has come. What action? Any action which vigorously and effectively disowns all fellowship with a nation which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

commits wholesale piracy on the high seas. The action which we hope will have been taken by the United States Government before this number reaches our readers is this:

We would have our Government at once call upon Germany to disown and repudiate her present practice of sinking merchant vessels without warning and without regard for safety of passengers and crew, and notify Germany that so long as she continues to disregard the rights of neutrals and the fundamental principles of humanity the United States will have no intercourse with her. We would have our Government give the German Ambassador his passport and call home from Germany the American Ambassador. We would publicly request by cable all the neutral Powers of the world to unite with us in this action; if they decline, we would still take the action alone.

This does not mean war against Germany.

But if, as a result, Germany declared war against us, we would have America meet the peril with the same spirit of courage with which our fathers met a greater peril in 1776 and in 1812. To this action there are objections. There are objections to any action. But there are still greater objections to inaction, for inaction means America's acquiescence in Germany's continuing policy of international crime.

We do not know the individual who is responsible for this piracy on the high seas. Not the German people. It is not their act. Germany is not a republic. Her Government is not responsible to her people. They have not directed its policy. They could not change it if they would; they cannot even give free expression to their opinions respecting it. Speech and press are free in America; they are free in England; they are not free in Germany. And where opinions cannot be freely expressed public opinion does not exist. It is created by expression. This piracy should stir no hate against the German people—only compassion and a new hope that they may become free.

It is not for us to judge even the director of these acts of barbaric brutality—whoever he may be. He will be self-judged. The time will come when will pass away the burning fever of war which now blinds the eyes and hardens the heart, and the ghosts of his murdered victims, innocent of wrong, will surround with their accusing voices this now exultant assassin. We do not judge him. We leave this modern Richard III to his own self-judgment.

"I hate myself
For hateful deeds committed by myself!
I am a villain: yet I lie, I am not.
Fool, of thyself speak well: fool, do not flatter.
My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain.
Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree;
Murder, stern murder, in the direst degree;
All several sins, all used in each degree,
Throng to the bar, crying all, 'Guilty! guilty!'"

THE PRESIDENT'S NOTE

The Outlook Office,
Friday Morning, May 14.

The foregoing editorial went to press yesterday morning. We stop the press to say that the President's message to the Imperial German Government is published this morning. The country has looked forward to it with mingled feelings of eagerness, anxiety, and confidence. Every patriotic American will greet it with hearty approval and satisfaction.

In accordance with diplomatic conventions it is signed by the Secretary of State, but manifestly it is written by the hand of the President himself. For style, spirit, courtesy, vigor, and the principles it expresses, it will take a high place among the state papers of our Government.

The President narrates the series of violations of American rights which culminated in the sinking of the Lusitania; assumes that "these acts, so absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices, and the spirit of modern warfare," are not approved by the Imperial German Government; asserts that Americans have the right to travel on merchant ships even when these ships are owned by belligerents; states as undebatable the fact that submarine warfare against merchant ships violates "many sacred principles of justice and humanity;" informs

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Imperial German Government that the German Embassy at Washington printed a warning to the people of the United States in a newspaper advertisement, which was not only an act of diplomatic discourtesy, but which cannot possibly "be accepted as an excuse or palliation" for the death-dealing destruction of the Lusitania; takes it for granted that the commanders of the submarines who have torpedoed non-combatants acted "under a misapprehension of the orders" of the Imperial German Government; expresses the confident expectation that the Imperial German Government will make reparation, in so far as reparation for injuries which cannot be measured may be made, and will immediately take steps to prevent the recurrence of such injuries; and, finally, in the following striking passage states the intention of the Government of the United States to support its demands for justice by acting, if action is necessary:

> The Government and people of the United States look to the Imperial German Government for just, prompt, and enlightened action in this vital matter with the greater confidence, because the United States and Germany are bound together not only by special ties of friendship, but also by the explicit stipulations of the Treaty of 1828, between the United States and the Kingdom of Prussia.
>
> Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake, while they may satisfy international obligations, if no loss of life results, cannot justify or excuse a practice the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks.
>
> The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

The President's ultimatum is the first step in the procedure which we advocate in the editorial preceding this statement. He has cleared the atmosphere and made the issue plain.

Every loyal American should support the President in his hope that Germany will accede to his just demands.

But if, unhappily, Germany decides against us, every loyal American, whatever his ancestry or his place of birth, should be *preparing now* to omit no act necessary to the performance of his sacred duty of aiding the Government of the United States to protect its citizens, to maintain justice, and to preserve the foundations of its institutions.

II—THE STORY OF THE CRIME

ON Monday of last week a British coroner's jury, in their finding on deaths caused by the sinking of the Cunard steamship Lusitania, declared: "The jury finds this appalling crime was contrary to international law and the conventions of all civilized nations, and we therefore charge the officers of the submarine and the German Emperor and the Government of Germany, under whose orders they acted, with the crime of willful and wholesale murder."

What was this crime, thus characterized?

On the first day of May the Lusitania left New York City bound for Queenstown and Liverpool. Built eight years ago at a cost of seven and a half million dollars, she was one of the Cunard Line's famous trio of the largest, finest, and fastest British ships afloat—the Lusitania, Mauretania, and Aquitania. Aboard her were over two thousand men, women, and children. The day before she sailed the German Embassy issued a printed warning to Americans to the effect that if they sailed the high seas on British passenger ships they did so at the peril of their lives. It is said that individuals

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

received also personal warnings in the form of telegrams, but there is doubt about this. Generally, the German warnings were regarded as "bluff," and great faith was put by the passengers in the Lusitania's speed, the belief that British war-ships would protect her, and in the feeling that no nation or ruler would be so dastardly as to destroy human life of neutrals and non-combatants by wholesale for remote military advantage and contrary to fixed principles of international practice. An unusual number of women, and especially children, were on board, many of them going to rejoin their husbands and fathers in England. The Lusitania was not armed, and never has been, but she did carry in her cargo munitions of war and other contraband.

On Friday, May 7, Captain Turner, of the Lusitania, was on the bridge at two o'clock; many of the passengers were at their luncheon; the ship was running rather slowly—in order, as the captain says, that it might not reach port at a wrong stage of the tide. The Admiralty had by wireless informed Captain Turner of the presence of submarines in the Irish Channel, but had furnished no destroyers or other war-ships to guard the passage—in the House of Commons Winston Churchill has said that it was impossible so to guard all passenger ships, and it has even been doubted whether the presence of convoys would be a protection or a detriment. Mr. Simon Lake, the American submarine inventor, has declared that their smoke would attract submarines and that there really is no such thing as a submarine defense. In accordance with the Admiralty's directions, the ship was keeping a middle course in the channel. The position of the vessel on its way to Queenstown was off Old Head, Kinsale, ten miles or more from the Irish coast. Suddenly Captain Turner and several others, officers and passengers, saw, half a mile or so away and off the starboard side, the periscope of a submarine. What followed may be described in Captain Turner's words:

> I saw a torpedo speeding toward us, and immediately I tried to change our course, but was unable to maneuver out of its way. There was a terrible impact as the torpedo struck the starboard side of the vessel, and a second torpedo followed almost immediately. This one struck squarely over the boilers.
>
> I tried to turn the Lusitania shoreward, hoping to beach her, but her engines were crippled, and it was impossible.
>
> There has been criticism because I did not order the lifeboats out sooner; but no matter what may be done there are always some to criticise. Until the Lusitania came to a standstill it was absolutely out of the question to launch the boats—they would have been swamped.

To this Captain Turner added: "I saw the torpedoes with my own eyes. It was cold-blooded murder." Some accounts say that the German submarine U-39 fired the fatal torpedoes.

The two torpedoes struck without any appreciable lapse of time between them. The ship instantly took a strong list to port, making it impossible to handle the boats on the starboard side. From the time of the attack until the sinking of the ship less than twenty minutes elapsed. There was a rush for life-belts. Some passengers threw off their outer clothing, and thereby helped their chances of floating; others put on heavy coats and furs, and few of these were picked up. Several boats were launched (perhaps ten), but not all successfully.

Queenstown had been informed by wireless, and in time many steamboats, ships, and tugs arrived and helped in the search for survivors and for bodies of the dead.

Incidents of heroism and coolness were not wanting. Thus, one deck steward has received warm praise for the way in which he cheered and captained a boat-load of forlorn and helpless people. Mr. Alfred G. Vanderbilt, of the wealthy and famous family of that name, is described by an onlooker as taking off his life-belt to give to an old lady and as working hard to get children into the boats. He was going to Europe to extend his already large efforts to render ambulance and hospital aid. He was among the lost. Mr. Charles Frohman, the most prominent figure in American theatrical circles, was also lost. He is said to have remarked to a companion: "Why fear death? It is the most beautiful adventure in life." Elbert Hubbard, the well-known writer; Justus M. Forman, novelist and playwright; Charles Klein, the dramatist, whose "Music Master" and other plays are known to every one, were among the Americans of special prominence who were lost.

There was no panic, although there has been some question as to the efficiency of the crew in handling boats and passengers. The time was terribly short and the difficulties of the case almost beyond description. The old Anglo-Saxon cry of "Women and children first" was heard and heeded. One

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

passenger gives the following description of the scene:

On the decks of the doomed vessel absolute calmness prevailed. There was no rushing about and nothing resembling a panic. In a few isolated cases there were signs of hysteria on the part of women, but that was all. I did not notice any concerted effort to distribute life-belts, and I was unable to obtain one.

The efforts made to lower the boats had not apparently met with much success.

Women were standing quite calmly, waiting for an opportunity to enter the boats when they should be released by the men from the davits.

The same passenger, after telling how he dived from the ship, gives a pen picture of the actual sinking of the Lusitania:

I turned around to watch the great ship heel over. The monster took a sudden plunge, and I saw a crowd still on her decks, and boats filled with helpless women and children glued to her side. I sickened with horror at the sight.

There was a thunderous roar, as of the collapse of a great building on fire; then she disappeared, dragging with her hundreds of fellow-creatures into the vortex. Many never rose to the surface, but the sea rapidly grew thick with the figures of struggling men and women and children.

The total toll of the dead as it appears at this writing is 1,150, of whom 114 were known to be American citizens and others to be of long American residence although not citizens. Of the survivors, 465 were passengers, 302 were of the crew. The funeral services at Queenstown were touching and pathetic to the utmost degree.

An inquiry is to be made into the tragedy by the British Board of Trade under the leadership of Lord Mersey, who presided over the Titanic inquiry. In the House of Commons the First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, said:

I must make it plain that in no circumstances will it be possible to make public the naval dispositions for patrolling our coasts. Our resources do not enable us to provide destroyer escorts for mail and passenger ships. The Admiralty had general knowledge of the German warning issued in America, and from that knowledge and other information concerning submarine movements it sent warnings to the Lusitania and directions as to her course.

There was absolutely no warning given by the submarine before the attack; after the Lusitania sank a submarine emerged in the middle of the wreck and ruin, its officers surveyed the scene, then the submarine submerged and doubtless fled to its base.

One writer truly says: "The ship was as defenseless against undersea and underhand attack as a Hoboken ferryboat in the North River would be against one of the United States battle-ships."

III—A DEFENSE FOR THE INDEFENSIBLE

IF there were any hope entertained that Germany would repudiate the act of her submarines in destroying the Lusitania and with it many hundreds of lives of non-combatants, many of whom were women and children, that hope was quickly dispelled.

Through the mouth of her non-official representative in this country, Dr. Dernburg, through the words of the German Ambassador to the United States, through an official statement from Berlin, and in every other possible way Germany has approved the massacre and has sought to give a defense for the act to the world and to history. A triple defense, indeed, is called for: First, toward Great Britain, for the violation of settled international law and the destruction of a British merchant ship without an opportunity to its crew and British subjects for escape; second, to the United States for the deliberate, planned slaughter of American citizens; third, to the world for what is everywhere, except in German circles, regarded as the most terrible attack on human rights to life and safety that the world has known.

The essence of all the defenses put forth by Germany is, to speak plainly, that "might makes right;" German advantage in the war is a necessity, and therefore anything conceivable is justified if German advantage gains. As one writer of the countless letters to the newspapers tersely puts it: "If, on the one hand, you have an indirect military advantage for Germany and, on the other hand, the lives of American citizens—drown the Americans."

The German defense as against Great Britain is that the act was one of reprisal;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Great Britain first established a war zone by planting certain areas of the North Sea with fixed (not floating) mines (but, be it noted, without danger to neutrals or non-combatants, for all merchant ships were shown how to avoid the mines), and that she thereby overrode the right of neutrals to the use of the high seas and presented an example which Germany is following; that Great Britain also, in establishing later what she claims to be an effective blockade of German ports, extended the law of blockade as understood heretofore in international law, and that here Great Britain again led the way in violating neutral rights on the high seas; that accordingly the so-called German submarine blockade and the proclamation of the German war zone are justified as acts of retaliation; that the conditions of submarine warfare are such that it is impossible to adhere to the recognized rules as to putting in safety the persons on board a hostile merchant vessel after capture and before the destruction of the vessel.

Going beyond this statement, the allegation was made both in Germany and the United States that the Lusitania was a war-ship, that it was armed, and that it carried large quantities of war material. Part of this assertion was quickly dropped; after positive affirmation by the British Admiralty, the Collector of the Port of New York, the captain of the Lusitania, and passengers on board that in no sense was the Lusitania an armed ship and that she never had been, this part of the German defense toned down to a loose statement that other British vessels have been armed and that they have tried to ram submarines, so that previous search became impossible. On the other hand, it is admitted that war material and contraband of war were carried on board the Lusitania, although there is a question as to the extent of this, and there is certainly more than question as to any force in the intimation that the carrying of contraband of war on a merchant ship makes it liable to destruction without regard to the safety of the people on board.

Wireless messages direct from Berlin last week declared that "responsibility rests with the British Government, which, through its plan to starve the civilian population of Germany, forces Germany to resort to the retaliatory measures." Following this statement, the Berlin authorities declare that, if the so-called starvation plan is given up by the British Government, Germany will stop the kind of submarine warfare which attacks passenger ships wantonly and with danger to life. But this offer was never formally made before the crime was committed.

The case of the German Government as regards the loss of American lives, for which it has expressed "its heartfelt sympathy," is stated, in the same message from the German Foreign Office above quoted, in the words: "The German Government cannot but regret that Americans felt more inclined to trust English promises rather than to pay attention to warnings from the German side." Stress is put, with what force we will not here discuss, upon the fact that the German Embassy in the United States issued an advertisement just before the sailing of the Lusitania in which it declared that American life would not be safe on board British passenger ships. How far this theory can be carried is shown in the statement by Dr. Dernburg that "Americans could not be considered neutrals if they persisted, in the face of repeated warnings, in traveling on enemies' ships within the war zone." Dr. Dernburg adds: "It is England that has created the new form of modern warfare by the use of the submarine, which ignores international law and the Hague agreements. . . . England has done this by establishing the long-range blockade."

Captain von Papen, a military attaché of the German Embassy, declares that it was "absolutely criminal for the Cunard Company to carry neutral passengers in a ship which was transporting explosives and munitions of war; . . . those who went aboard her went at their own risk. The warning was given seriously."

Another statement of the German case says: "It is claimed that Germany is observing international law in her submarine operations. Germany considers that law has been cast to the winds by her enemies. . . . Germany feels that she is justified, however, in doing anything, such as her submarine operations, in order to compel a return to law." That neutrals suffer is over and over again in German statements said to be entirely their own fault if they refuse to accept warnings. Those who argue in this way are fond also of asking whether it is more humane to torpedo a ship carrying contraband of war or to try to starve sixty million people by blockade.

Finally, for a defense of the outrage to human life and for the hideous suffering inflicted on innocent men, women, and chil-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dren, one looks in vain for anything like a defense based on principle or honor. "Anything to beat England" is not an unfair summary of Germany's moral defense.

IV—THE INTERNATIONAL LAW

THE sinking of the Lusitania has raised the question in scores of newspapers and in the minds of many men whether there is left in the world any such thing as International Law, and, if so, how it applies in the present situation. To obtain some light on this perplexing problem a member of the editorial staff of The Outlook has had an interview with Professor Ellery C. Stowell, and here reports the result of that interview in the form of question and answer. Professor Stowell is Assistant Professor of International Law and Diplomacy at Columbia University, in the city of New York. It will be remembered that he contributed to The Outlook in its issue for February 17 an illuminating article on the operation of International Law in the European war.

Has International Law gone by the board?

Germany and the United States are on opposite sides of the question whether there is any such thing as International Law. Germany holds that there is no International Law superior to national necessity; the people of the United States believe that there is. That, too, is a question involved in the war. The Allies are fighting to maintain the faith that there is such a thing as International Law which nations are bound to observe.

Can a nation mark off a war zone in which it can do things which would be repugnant to International Law and humanity if done outside such war zone?

No such war zone, answered Professor Stowell, is known to International Law. The term "war zone" is not commonly used. The nearest precedent for such a zone is that set by England in the South African war. In that case, however, England, as a concession to Germany, waived certain rights outside the war zone and limited her activities to the region within it. In other words, that war zone was not for the extension but for the limitation of the activities of the belligerent. She had the right to search all vessels anywhere on the high seas; but she gave up this right and confined her search and seizure to the war zone itself. This is the very opposite of what Germany claims for the war zone which she has marked out. (See Parliamentary papers in the case of the German steamship Bundesrath.)

Is a nation justified, in International Law, in sinking an unarmed peaceable vessel by the fact that she has published a general notice that she is going to do so?

If Germany had a right to sink a defenseless merchant vessel at all without providing for the safety of passengers and crew, she had the right to do so without announcing her policy. If she had no such right, the announcement of the policy would not give it to her.

Does the use of submarines give a country the right to sink vessels in a way which would be illegitimate for ordinary naval vessels to sink them?

There is no limit to the invention of destructive agents and machines; but the ravages of these new inventions must be aimed only at the armed enemy. If it is lawless to sink without notice a peaceable vessel and drown the passengers and crew, it makes no difference whether that act is performed by one kind of vessel or another. If, for instance, in the future science should discover some way by which we could kill people by telepathy, a person who used telepathy for murder would be a murderer just the same as if he had used a knife or a gun.

Is the sinking of a peaceable vessel without notice and drowning passengers and crew justifiable as a method of reprisal?

Some authorities in International Law find reprisals so abhorrent that they go so far as to say that there are no rules to govern reprisals. They take the stand that was taken in making the Code Napoléon, when the French jurist said that he would not dignify duels by mentioning them. Nevertheless, reprisals have been often used; but as civilization has advanced they have become more and more abhorred. If reprisals are used, two clearly recognized principles should be observed: one, that they ought to conform as closely as possible to the dictates of humanity; and the other, that they ought to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bear on the people to blame. At best, reprisals are relics of barbarism. They ought never to be directed against innocent third parties.

Are citizens of a neutral nation supposed to be taking their lives in their own hands when they embark on the merchantman of a belligerent, or should they be protected from injury?

Any neutral who takes passage on a belligerent merchantman does not take his life in his hands. To sink a belligerent merchantman with her passengers is an act of war against the government of the neutrals as well as a crime against humanity. It is therefore contrary to International Law. The laws of war do not permit what is not expressly prohibited when contrary to the sentiments of humanity.

If an enemy merchantman is armed, may it be destroyed without notice?

Not unless the armament is so considerable as to make the merchantman lose its peaceful character; a small armament to resist pirates or any other attack except rightful seizure and confiscation according to International Law is permissible.

If a merchantman carries contraband, is it sufficient justification for destroying her with passengers and crew?

No! The interest of the belligerent to prevent the delivery of the contraband is insignificant compared with the rights of humanity which such a deed would violate.

If a peaceable merchant vessel is guarded by the naval vessel of a belligerent, has she the same rights as if she were without convoy?

She has not the same rights. Even if she be a neutral vessel and is convoyed by a belligerent, she is liable to seizure. Indeed, such a merchant vessel is regarded as though she were armed and resisting search. The fact that a merchant vessel is convoyed may add to her peril. Naturally an enemy would attack the convoy rather than the merchant vessel; but he would be perfectly free to attack the merchant vessel also.

Is the breaking off of diplomatic relations with another country necessarily an act preparatory to war?

No. The whole question whether such an act would be war would depend, not upon International Law, but upon the feeling of the people under the circumstances. The resulting tension might lead to war.

What would be the decent and proper way of refusing to associate with another nation?

The first thing to do would be to give that other nation a chance to make amends and to give pledges for the future. If such amends and pledges were refused, the Ambassador to that nation might be recalled, leaving that nation's Ambassador here but not receiving him except in the most formal way; or we might give that Ambassador his passports as well as recall our own, but leave our consular agents at their posts; or we might withdraw all our consular agents as well as our diplomatic representatives. The most serious aspect of a withdrawal of diplomatic representatives would be that they could no longer act for the subjects of the other nations at war who had been put in our charge. It also would be very difficult for the few remaining diplomats to look out for the interests of our citizens, burdened as they are already. Of course that would involve the sacrifice of many American interests in Germany.

What ought to be done in such a crisis as this?

Professor Stowell expressed strongly his opinion that the President should at once call Congress in session. The leadership in a democracy, said Professor Stowell, requires instant action in such a crisis. Days went by without a word from the President and the time for his leadership over the country passed; nobody knew what his neighbor was thinking and nobody had means of finding out. That time has gone by without the chance of recovery. Now the only means for the formulation of public opinion that remains is Congress. Professor Stowell gave these further reasons for the assembling of Congress at this time:

1. If it is true, as reported, that the President has not been taking advice in the forming of his opinion, but has been thinking out the matter alone, and reaching his conclusions first without getting the advice and counsel of others who represent the people, he has been following a very dangerous course. This is no time for the Nation's policies to be determined by the unaided conclusions of one man. If Congress were in session, that would not be possible.

2. It has been the glory of England at this time that she has gone into this war under Parliamentary sanction. England and the United States have in common the conviction that government ought to be a government of and by the people, and the questions arising in great crises of the nation should be answered by the people and not by an oligarchy or an autocrat.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This is what distinguishes the English-speaking people from the people of Germany. At such a crisis as this, therefore, it is important that the representatives of the people should assemble.

3. There is no way by which the public sentiment of a country can be so promptly ascertained as through Congress. To make an investigation covering the whole territory of the United States would take months. The assembling of Congress would not only afford a chance for finding out what public opinion is, but would tend to unite the people, for at a time of National danger the people tend to stand together. The assembling of Congress would, I think, promote this tendency toward union.

4. The summoning of Congress by the President would impress Germany as nothing else could with the serious spirit of the American people.

With this view as to the duty of the President to call Congress together The Outlook heartily agrees.

V—PUBLIC OPINION

ALL the world stood appalled when an iceberg sent the Titanic to the bottom, says the Philadelphia "Ledger." "That was the littleness of men in conflict with the prodigious forces of nature." The "Ledger" continues:

But yesterday another giant of the sea was sent into the depths, not by an accident, not by a natural cataclysm, but by human beings intent on destruction, and with it went hundreds of innocent men, women, and children into untimely and terrible graves. It is inconceivable that such things can be, unspeakable that such deeds are perpetrated, intolerable that they should continue.

AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY

Among the few American papers which have called attention to any American responsibility is the La Crosse "Tribune." Its criticism is that Americans accepted an apparent hazard in the face of warnings. "Had these Americans deliberately walked upon a battlefield under the flag of a belligerent nation, there would be little sympathy for them or excuse for their folly. Yet sailing upon the ship of a belligerent nation through the perils surrounding entry of a blockaded port was hardly more sensible."

GERMAN RESPONSIBILITY

The "New Yorker Herold," a paper printed in German, thus chronicles the facts:

The German Government had, in an official advertisement made public throughout the entire nation, expressly and emphatically warned the traveling American public from using these British steamers. Every one not mentally blind must have known that it was impossible that such a warning could be meaningless and merely sent out to the empty air. The warning was almost brutally disregarded. It was called a "bluff," a "tactless," "impertinent" attempt to prevent American citizens from making use of their rights.

But the fact that the German Embassy gave warning before the Lusitania sailed "is not a mitigation but an aggravation of the hellish deed," asserts the South Bend, Indiana, "Tribune," writing on the same subject. "Its warning was an advertisement that Germany did not propose to heed the laws of civilized warfare; an advertisement of a massacre to be enacted on schedule."

BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY

There was a firm conviction among the friends of the American passengers on the Lusitania, especially in view of the German threat to destroy her, that the British navy would provide war-ships to convoy her to her port, affirms the New York "Times." "Nobody believed that she would be permitted to enter the so-called war zone without due provision for her safety." The "Times" proceeds:

The neglect of the Admiralty either to send armored cruisers to meet her or to warn her captain by wireless of the presence of German submarines in her course seems unaccountable. The relative importance of the Lusitania in the British mercantile marine led Americans who had business interests to look after in England to believe that, however unsafe navigation of the waters around the British Islands might be, no effort would be lacking to insure the safety of that vessel, carrying more than two thousand men, women, and children.

More sharply the Rochester "Union and Advertiser" thus comments:

The British Government allowed this great vessel, valued at several millions of dollars and loaded with human beings, to come within the area where German submarines had but a few

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hours before sunk vessels, without giving her even the slightest protection. It neglected its obvious duty to such an extent that merchant vessels were ahead of vessels of the British navy in reaching the spot where the ship had gone down and in giving help. No explanation of this disgraceful neglect offers itself at present, unless it be the colossal British conceit in its power upon the sea.

To similar criticisms the London "Times" rejoins:

It is clear from the large number of British liners every day using the ports and waters of the United Kingdom that it would be quite impossible to interfere with the general naval policy against detaching destroyers and other suitable craft to convoy each merchant ship. To do so in the case of selected boats, unless there were special national interests to safeguard, would obviously be unfair. If one ship is to be protected, all would claim a right to similar treatment.

The London "Morning Post" refuses to accept as adequate the suggestion of the "Times" that it is impossible to convoy every merchantman or to select special ones for protection, as it is well known that many liner routes are protected by fast cruisers and destroyers and the danger points, such as those in the vicinity of Queenstown, are patrolled anyway. The German threats against the Lusitania would surely have constituted a case for special protection, says the newspaper. It concludes: "The case demands the most searching scrutiny and investigation," and says that there are "at least three means of defense against the repetition of the Lusitania disaster. They are change of route, high speed, and the protection of cruisers or torpedo-boats."

GERMAN OPINION

Dr. Eugen Kühnemann, of the University of Breslau, who is acting as German exchange professor to American universities, declares, as reported, that the torpedoing of the Lusitania proves two things:

First, that Germany is determined and has the power to crush any nation that tries to starve her out; second, that the prestige of the English navy is gone forever.

It is shameful that England, with its powerful navy, is not able to protect its own commerce. With all her navy, England has been unable to protect one lonesome ship within sight of her own shores when she had advance information that the ship was to be destroyed, and knew how eager the Germans were to wreck it.

In Germany the comment is interesting, of course, and grimly instructive. The Berliner "Tageblatt" says:

With deep emotion we learn of the destruction of the Lusitania, in which countless men lost their lives. We lament with sincere hearts their hard fate, but we know we are completely devoid of blame. We may be sure that through the English telegrams communicated to the world indignation will again be raised against Germany, but we must hope that calm reflection will later pronounce the verdict of condemnation against the British Admiralty.

The Cologne "Volkszeitung" thus interprets the affair:

The sinking of the Lusitania is a success of our submarines which must be placed beside the greatest achievement of this naval war. The sinking of the giant English steamer is a success of moral significance which is still greater than material success. With joyful pride we contemplate this latest deed of our navy. It will not be the last.

The English wish to abandon the German people to death by starvation. We are more humane. We simply sank an English ship with passengers who at their own risk and responsibility entered the zone of operations.

Finally, there is the "Germania," the Clerical organ. This paper says: "We can look forward to such efforts with a clear conscience, for we have proceeded correctly. We can only answer those who place their sympathies above justice that war is war."

GERMAN-AMERICAN OPINION

In restful contrast to the above is the statement made to the New York "Times" by a prominent German-American business man:

I refuse to believe that Germany's new naval policy includes an order providing for explaining or justifying such an act as the sinking of the Lusitania. The attack on the Lusitania was murder, wanton murder, and as a German-American who loves the land of his fathers, and who believes in the justice of Germany's cause in this war, I cannot believe that the Berlin Government did, or does now, sanction an act which over night has made more enemies for Germany than anything else that has happened before or during this war.

In this connection a despatch in the New York "Sun" reads as follows:

Professor John F. Coar, of the University of Rochester, instructor in German, declined on Saturday to conduct his classes, and repeated his declination when college opened this morning. "I shall dismiss this class for to-day," he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

said. "I do not feel able this morning to teach the ideals of Goethe and Schiller, so wholly incompatible with the present conditions. I am inexpressibly unhappy that this should be so, but after what has happened it cannot be otherwise."

Of the sinking of the Lusitania Professor Coar declared: "The act of the German Government is a slap in the face of humanity. I have held my opinions from the members of my classes, but this last act of the Germans has lessened my restraint.

Professor Coar is a former Brooklyn man. He was born in Germany.

"Germany has no doubt lost, for a while, the very little sympathy which it enjoyed here," admits the "New Yorker Herold."

AMERICAN OPINION

American opinion in general is reflected by the Richmond "Virginian" when it says that "Germany had no more right over the persons and property of the neutral non-combatant passengers than a mob of outlaws has over the persons and lives of helpless women;" or the Washington "Herald" when it avers:

There is no evidence to show that the Germans gave these two thousand innocent non-combatants warning or the smallest chance to save their lives; on the contrary, the meager accounts of their procedure at present available indicate a calculated effort to kill every one of them. It stands out now as a deliberate violation of the laws of nations and the laws of humanity, a hideous act of savagery—surpassing all previous atrocities of the war.

"The sinking of the Lusitania, with her heavy freightage of peaceful travelers, including hundreds of women and children, was not an act of war; it was a deed of wholesale murder," proclaims the New York "American;" and another New York paper, the "Mail," sums up the matter when it interprets the event as an offense "against all international law, against humanity, against the conscience of the world." Indeed, "it was the most infamous and unforgivable act of black murder in the history of the war," affirms the Albany "Knickerbocker Press." It adds: "When this war is over, are not the kings and rulers who are responsible for such fiendish assassination upon the high seas to be held personally responsible for their deeds by the civilized world?"

Says the Brooklyn "Eagle:"

The blow at humanity, at civilization, hard as it hits the world, hits Germany harder still. Its effects will be cumulative. They will grow wherever there is response to impulses other than those which are wolfish, bloody, and ravenous. They will convert Prussian, if not all German, militarism into a byword and a reproach.

"We are convinced that this one act will go farther to convince the whole world that German domination of the world would be relentless than have all previous acts of war," concludes the Augusta, Maine, "Kennebec Journal." "We feel that yesterday must go down as a black Friday in German history; that since yesterday world sympathy for the German cause has shrunk tremendously."

ENGLISH OPINION

As might be expected, the expressions of English opinion are impressive; for instance, that of the London "Chronicle:"

The blood of over fifteen hundred men, women, and children lies at the German Admiralty's door. It was a massacre whose scale and whose cold premeditation taken together render it almost unique among Christian records since the massacre of St. Bartholomew. If ever out of the ground or out of the sea blood cried for vengeance, surely that of the Lusitania's victims cries.

Says the London "News:"

It is doubtless the hope of the enemy to convert the importance of their blockade into a reality by terror. They have mistaken the temper of the people of these islands and all men, whatever their nationality, for whom civilization has a meaning. The traffic of the seas will continue as though no Germans lurked beneath the water to commit murder, and the task of bringing the murderers to justice and ridding the world of this horror of brutality will be carried on with sterner and fiercer energy.

An editorial which is attracting special attention, and which represents a view held in some well-informed quarters, is that of the London "Star:"

It is, we fear, certain that the Hohenzollern crew of criminals are now fighting to save themselves and not to save the German Empire. Their homicidal insanity is growing more frenzied every day. They are not waging war like a great nation which expects to live in amity with its enemies after war is over. They are waging war like murderers, who are selling their lives dearly.

The Kaiser and his blood-stained Court are assuredly at this moment dreading the awful apocalypse which will sooner or later burst upon the German people. They are treading the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

path which all tyrants have trodden. They know that defeat means revolution.

Be this as it may, in a letter to the London "Times" Lord Rosebery writes:

There are two or three points to be noted with regard to this infamy—(1) The moral degradation of a nation that can hail such a crime as a victory and rejoice over it. (2) The mental degradation of a nation which can offer warning as an excuse for a massacre. It is constantly proved in humbler cases of homicide that the murderer declared "I'll do him," but that has never saved a culprit from the gallows. (3) The stupidity of it. Never has that much-claimed saying, "It is worse than a crime; it is a blunder," been more fully exemplified.

FRENCH OPINION

The editor of the Paris "Intransigeant" writes as follows:

The Lusitania affair is all the more reprehensible in that one may defy the Germans to show in what way the destruction of this transatlantic liner can advance, even by one hour, the end of the war. Consequently it is a fruitless crime, without excuse. What is worse, the state of war is the pretext in this deed for commercial revenge.

The Paris "Temps" says:

In the universal terror which the Germans are organizing they seek to render all the elements their accomplices. Among all their crimes in air and on sea, no human being, traveler, or simple pedestrian in the street is any longer in complete security. To go and come has become sort of an act of faith, a manifestation of optimism.

The Paris "Journal des Débats" asks "whether Germany is not seeking to antagonize all the world in order to have an excuse in the eyes of its people for the inevitable capitulation."

RUSSIAN OPINION

The Petrograd "Novoe Vremya" comes to the conclusion that a curse overhangs the German nation. It continues: "They have completed their appointed circuit in history and will now be hurled headlong into the bottomless pit which they digged themselves."

The Petrograd "Courier" strikes an original note in saying:

War hitherto has been war through all the ages of history, namely, a fight between definite opponents. The Germans have turned this war into warfare against humanity at large. They are not content with killing their foes, but must murder every living thing they have a chance to destroy. Such being the case, it wants no very lively imagination to appreciate what Americans will think of this wholesale murder, not because American citizens have suffered, but because a blow has been struck in the back, and probably not the last blow, against the principle of American freedom.

DUTCH OPINION

Turning to the opinion expressed in neutral countries, we find that of Holland most interesting and significant.

The Amsterdam "Tijd" says:

Neutrals who in these lamentable times have so often imposed restraint upon themselves in order to silence their feelings of horror and indignation must now acknowledge that another incident can be added to all the previous violations of laws, to the atrocious interpretations of treaties, and to the inhuman and devilish contrivances which Germany has been guilty of using in committing murder on a great scale.

The commander of the German submarine which sank the Lusitania can look with pride upon his work. Is not this so, Satan?

The "Telegraaf," also of Amsterdam, asks:

Does there still exist something like conscience among the neutrals? The neutral Powers remained silent when Belgian neutrality was trampled upon, when the Germans carried out practices profaning international law, and when submarine assassins took their first victims. Will they now look on inactively? Only the spontaneous joint protest of the entire civilized world, from which Germany has separated herself, can be an answer to the latest provocation.

SCANDINAVIAN OPINION

The "Hovedstaden," of Copenhagen, is quoted as follows:

It is clear that Germany now holds herself outside of international law. Here is the embodiment of German military will. If the violation of Belgian neutrality; if Louvain, Senlis, and Rheims have not yet taught us Danes that neutrality is only a conception of a state, that it has nothing to do with the hearts of the citizens, then the Lusitania will teach us and all the world. Germany will know that the torpedo that hit the Lusitania also hit us and wounded the human feelings of the whole world.

The Christiania "Aftenposten" adds:

The conduct of the German submarines seems now to have reached a climax. The whole world is filled with detestation and horror that in our times of enlightenment such a deed can be perpetrated by a nation of culture.

The "Nya Dagligt Allehanda," a conservative paper of Stockholm, says:

A cry of horror and indignation will rise from the civilized world. If Germans have sunk the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

floating palace solely because it was British, it is an unpardonable crime against humanity. One can hardly understand how an officer of the German navy could be able to perpetrate such an act. We must presume that the Germans have discovered that there were arms and munitions aboard. But the act remains, nevertheless, revolting and horrible.

ITALIAN OPINION

The Rome "Giornale d'Italia," which is supposed to reflect the opinions of the Italian Government, says:

That such a large proportion of the peaceful travelers on the Lusitania lost their lives sums up the atrocity of the crime which struck down men, women, and children, persons of all ages, conditions of life, and nationalities who could not assist or injure either belligerent. The warning published in America against leaving on the Lusitania shows that the crime was premeditated. Thus there are no extenuating circumstances.

The "Messaggero," also of Rome, declares that the torpedoing of the Lusitania is a more heavy blow to the German cause than would have been the loss of a great battle. This was amplified by the poet Gabriele d'Annunzio when informed of the merciless crime:

Germany is doing her best to array against her all the vital healthy and youthful forces of the civilized world, which would rather perish than allow brute force and barbarism to triumph.

But these forces cannot perish any more than can the dawn, any more than can the spring water from the virgin rock or the germinating seeds from the vitals of the earth.

From this baptism of blood of which the travelers on the Lusitania were the most innocent but perhaps fruitful victims, as it may provoke the participation of America in the war, will reign law, justice, and love on an indestructible basis, formed by the enlightened conscience of three continents.

OTHER OPINION

A despatch from Athens says that the torpedoing of the Lusitania has aroused profound indignation throughout Greece. The Athens "Hestia" says:

This German crime affords an appropriate commentary on the German accusations of cruelties alleged to have been perpetrated by Russian troops in East Prussia. While undertaking to give lessons in the principles of humanity to others, they themselves commit the greatest crimes against humanity.

In Asia we find the influential native organ of India, the Allahabad "Leader," saying: "And this is Germany, the leader of culture and civilization! Humanity can do very well without this culture and civilization."

To turn back to the Western Hemisphere, we find Argentinian opinion expressed by "La Nacion," of Buenos Aires, which declares that the torpedoing of the Lusitania without previous warning was an outrage against the rights of neutrals and has aroused the conscience of humanity.

WHAT SHALL WE DO?

Weeks ago President Wilson warned Germany that she would be held "to a strict accountability" if in pursuance of her war zone decree and the thinly veiled threat it conveyed she destroyed American lives, says the Richmond "Times-Despatch." "Well, Germany has carried out her threat. What are we going to do about it?"

The New York "World" prints the following from the Hon. David Jayne Hill, former Ambassador to Germany:

When an appeal to the human conscience proves a vain expedient, it is necessary to resort to other means to preserve the rights of citizens and the honor of a nation. Failure to do so would be an act of self-debasement too ignoble to consider for a moment. There are extremities of endurance that are revolting to our better natures. The situation by which we are confronted is not chiefly one of legality, it is a question of the future of civilization.

The New York "Times" reports Mr. Roosevelt as saying:

The sinking of the Lusitania was not only an act of simple piracy, but it represented piracy accompanied by murder on a vaster scale than any old-time pirate had ever practiced before being hung for his misdeeds.

This is merely the application on the high seas, and at our expense, of the principles which when applied on land had produced the hideous tragedies that have occurred in Belgium and in northern France.

Not only our duty to humanity at large, but our duty to preserve our own National self-respect, demands instant action on our part and forbids all delay. When the German decree establishing the war zone was issued, and of course plainly threatened exactly the type of tragedy which has occurred, our Government notified Germany that in the event of any such wrong-doing at the expense of our citizens we would hold the German Government to "a strict accountability." The use of this phrase, "strict accountability," of course, must mean, and can only mean, that action will be taken by us without an hour's unnecessary delay. It was eminently proper to use the exact phrase that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was used, and, having used it, our own self-respect demands that we forthwith abide by it.

The New York "Sun" reports the following suggestion from Mr. Roosevelt:

Without twenty-four hours' delay this country could and should take effective action by declaring that, in view of Germany's murderous offenses against the rights of neutrals, all commerce with Germany shall forthwith be forbidden, and all commerce of every kind be permitted and encouraged with France, England, and the rest of the civilized world.

"A mere formal protest in words, an exchange of notes between the State Department and the German Embassy, between Ambassador Gerard and Wilhelmstrasse, amounts to nothing but a puff of wind; is tantamount to our acquiescence in Germany's new law of the seas," says the Chicago "Tribune." "Let us not for one instant deceive ourselves as to that."

The Denver "Post" says:

It is infinitely better for a nation to perish from the face of the earth than to lose its honor, its manhood, or its self-respect. . . .

There are worse things than wars; there are worse things than death.

The London "Times," in discussing what the United States is likely to do to make good its official words, says:

No attempt at direct action could have any very material effect on the situation. The standing forces of the United States are so small that they could render little help at present in the saving of civilization from the menace that confronts it.

The London "Observer" concludes:

It is a profound mistake to think that because the American people have not drawn arms to vindicate the cause of public law and humanity they have taken no worthy part in the struggle. We can never be sufficiently grateful to them for the moral support which we have received from all that is greatest and worthiest in the American nation, and it would be a blunder if they permitted themselves in a moment of indignation, righteous though it be, to further the deep-laid plans of Germans by picking up the gauntlet thrown down to them.

GERMAN-AMERICAN LOYALTY

So much has been said of an alarming nature concerning the position of German-Americans in case of a possible war with Germany that we quote with great satisfaction the statements of three of them. The first is Mayor Blankenburg's, of Philadelphia:

Don't let any one for a moment divert you from the thought that you are an American forever and nobody's slave. Never let anybody, for selfish reasons, dictate what you shall do. Let no one, when age shall have come upon you, as it has upon me, point to you as one who has been an enemy of his country, or as having broken your oath of allegiance.

The second is that, reported in the New York "Globe," of the Rev. Dr. A. B. Moldenke, pastor of St. Peter's Lutheran Church, in Lexington Avenue, one of the foremost German places of worship in New York City:

If the United States were to go to war against Germany, either over the Lusitania incident or for other cause, and the cause were regarded by the German-Americans as not just, even then Germans here would remain neutral. There is no fear that Germans resident here will be traitors to their adopted country. If the United States were to go to war against Germany with a just cause, German-Americans would go to war with their adopted country. Germans living here and enjoying the blessings of this country will not fight it. If they cannot fight with it, they will be neutral.

The third is that of Mr. Hermann Ridder, editor of the New York "Staats-Zeitung," in reply to the New York "Mail's" query: "What attitude do German-Americans take toward the German submarine policy as evidenced by the fate of their fellow-citizens on the Lusitania? Are they with the President of the United States or the Emperor of Germany?"

I speak for myself, and I believe for the great majority of German-Americans, when I say that we are with the President of the United States to the finish in all matters affecting National honor or National prestige.

I subscribe unqualifiedly to the statement of Carl Schurz: "My country, right or wrong; if right, to be kept right; if wrong, to be set right."

OUTLAWING GERMANY

It is important to remember, says ex-Governor Baldwin, of Connecticut, that, should the assassination of American citizens on the Lusitania become the cause of difference between Germany and the United States, there are other means than war to which the United States could resort. What other means? The New York "Globe" replies:

The organization of a league of neutral states to compel the belligerents in the present war to cease from the murder of neutrals on the high seas.

This is approved by a Texas paper, the Dallas "News." "To suspend diplomatic relations with Germany would signify that Germany had made itself an Ishmaelite among nations. To league the neutral

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Powers in protest would have a like signification."

The Rev. Dr. Leighton Parks, of St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City, thus expresses it:

Let our brother, Germany, be unto us as a heathen, one who has cut himself off from the congregation of Israel, and a publican; this Germany which has loved education and has given to us a literature of its own, its music, its scientific achievements, its aspirations; this Germany which we had learned to admire and love.

Let us say to Germany, "You have placed yourself beyond the pale, and we cannot for the time being have anything to do with you."

Mr. George W. Wickersham, formerly United States Attorney-General, writes as follows to the New York "Times:"

A very clear course, it seems to me, is open for us to pursue.

We should cancel all diplomatic relations with a country which has declared war upon civilization, recall our Ambassador from Berlin, and hand Count Bernstorff his passports.

Congress should be summoned in extra session, and an appropriation of at least $250,000,000 asked to put us in a condition to protect our rights as a neutral civilized Power.

At the same time we should invite all neutral nations of the world to join us in a council of civilization.

THE WEEK

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH AT PHILADELPHIA

The Lusitania was torpedoed on Friday afternoon. On the following Monday night President Wilson, speaking before four thousand newly naturalized citizens in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, emphasized the necessity for absolute loyalty to the country. If it had not been for the circumstance of the Lusitania tragedy, this speech would have been excellent.

"You cannot dedicate yourselves," said the President, "unless you become thorough Americans, and you are not thorough Americans if you begin to think in groups; for the man who thinks in groups has not become an American. The man who goes among you to trade on your nationality is no worthy citizen of the United States. . . . You have taken an oath of allegiance to a great ideal, to a great body of principles, to a great hope of the human race. . . . And while you have all countries with you, you come with the purpose of leaving all other countries behind you. . . . My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but also always to think first of humanity. . . . I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellow-men. He has lost the touch and ideal of America, for America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift and not by the passions which separate and debase. . . . The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example, not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right."

These latter phrases have been reported in all parts of the world; but their application to present conditions is variously interpreted. The sentiments were sound, the language in which they are expressed is eloquent; but the country had been waiting four days for some note of leadership. It did not ask for a definition of policy; it was eager to get what was more important, an expression of its profound feeling with reference to certain fundamental rights.

The President explained the next day that he did not have the Lusitania in mind; on the other hand, the country had nothing else in mind.

THE NON-PARTISAN LAW OF CALIFORNIA

The Non-Partisan Law, which abolishes political party distinctions in the State of California, has passed the Legislature and has received the signature of the Governor.

The matter is perhaps not quite settled, as there will probably be a referendum vote to determine the opinion of the people of the State at large upon the question. The Governor, however, looks forward with confidence to a favorable vote of the people in sustaining the Act, for the reform was a strong plank of his candidacy at the last election. There is little doubt that he is entirely justi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fied in this opinion, and that henceforth in the State of California there will be no candidates of political parties on the ballot, except in elections for Congressmen and for electors for President.

The progressive movement in California is sufficiently well known. It began as a political movement against domination by the great corporations through the corrupt use of political power.

The primary election law was passed to prevent fraud and chicanery in internal party management. In pursuance of this policy, it was required that every citizen should register his political affiliations, and thus become eligible to take part in the nomination of candidates at the primaries.

The lawyers who attacked the primary election law argued that "it permits any citizen to participate in the organization of any political party and thus deprives it of the right of self-preservation."

When it no longer paid to keep up party organizations, they fell into disuse. This fact was also mirrored in law. Parties being no longer practical, non-partisanship became a sort of virtue and the tide set strongly in that direction.

Now any one can have himself nominated with little difficulty, and the primary election becomes a weeding-out process by which the first two names on the list are retained as candidates, after the fashion of the European second elections. Consequently success at the polls is very largely a matter of ability to advertise. The ordinary candidate with little money is hard beset in order to get his name before the public.

But the political air has been purified. Election frauds are scarcer, though there is still much fraudulent registration. On the whole, the power of the corporations has been much curtailed, at least on the statute-book. On the other hand, under the non-partisan method the interests may still support their candidate without the expense and scandal of maintaining a political machine. The cost of advertising alone gives them an advantage.

On the whole, the non-partisan movement may be a step in advance, but its limitations are very clear.

THE A B C UNION

In the minds of some journalists and diplomats the Brazilian Foreign Minister's official visit to the capitals of Argentina and Chile suggests the question whether at last the A B C Union is not now definitely coming into being. Some critics even suspect that the Union may be directed against the United States. The Outlook does not share this suspicion. Not to speak of other factors, the Niagara Falls Conference engendered too much good feeling between the A B C countries—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—and the United States to die out. Moreover, we believe that the feeling has been further strengthened by circumstances due to the European war. Hence it was not surprising some months ago when Señor Suarez-Mujica, the Chilean Ambassador, said of the three countries:

> There is no alliance whatever between them, nor is there any need of establishing it; but on the great occasions where the continent is concerned the common interest of the prestige and dignity of this part of the world unites automatically the threads of their foreign political action and places them through the very force of events into a compact reciprocally beneficial with this great northern force called the United States of America.

If not against the United States, other critics think that the A B C Union is to operate against the possibility of the conquest of South America by that element which may emerge victorious in the European war—the Union, of course, now no longer antagonized by us, but expectant of our friendly co-operation. We shall see.

The A B C Union has long been the dream of Latin-American diplomats. It is strong enough to control South American development. But, unless we are mistaken, a political reason is not the cause of any A B C Union. An economic reason is much more probable. The economic paralysis of Europe has forced a financial want upon the A B C countries. Europe—and especially London—has always been the South American exchange and credit center. South American loans have been floated there. The financial needs of South America are as insistent as ever. Europe can no longer afford accommodation, so the South American countries turn towards us. New York is being substituted for London as the South American foreign exchange market. On us this is the most notable economic effect of the war. A practical proof is seen in the large loans floated here by Argentina during the past two months. Another proof may be noted in the fact that the Latin-American republics are sending their leading

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

financiers and public men to the Pan-American Financial Conference to be held, during the last week of this month, to discuss international banking, transportation, and commercial arrangements.

Thus a European war has given a new economic significance to Pan-Americanism.

THE PEOPLE AND THE FLEET

The visit of the Atlantic fleet to the harbor of New York is timely. It is good for the people to know the fleet, and it is good for the fleet to know the people. For without the interest of her civilians America's navy will languish and decline.

Lack of public interest has been responsible for our immemorially inadequate army. The navy has fared somewhat better, for on account of our salt-water-made isolation from the other great nations of the world, we have always feared invasion by sea more than attack by land.

The thousands who in the past ten days have visited the fleet in puffing little launches hastily converted into passenger boats by watermen with a keen sense of commerce, as well as the millions who have contented themselves with viewing the ships from Riverside Drive and the terraced park beneath, which together constitute as beautiful a bit of city water-front as can be found in the world—these thousands and these millions at a time of wars and alarms of war have taken reassurance from the sight of the big bulldog superdreadnoughts, the slim terrier destroyers, and those long-backed ocean hounds, the submarines, which together are our watchdogs of the sea. But as they have talked with the officers and men of the fleet these civilians have heard things not reassuring at all. They have heard of shortages in ammunition, submarines, destroyers, air-ships, auxiliaries, and even men. And they have heard of the total absence in our navy of battle cruisers—a type of ship whose value has been proved beyond question in this war; and of the absence, too, of 15-inch guns, the weapon with which England's Queen Elizabeth has been pounding the Turk at the Dardanelles.

BARNARD COLLEGE

In the city of New York Barnard College recently celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary; and the story of its founding and growth is a fine comment on Lord Bryce's statement that the two most noticeable elements in the atmosphere of this country are hopefulness and helpfulness.

A quarter of a century ago, in answer to an obvious need for a college for women in New York, but without a dollar of endowment and with no buildings, Barnard College was opened for students in a small private house. It had the good fortune to have as its first President Dr. Arthur Brooks, a man of conviction, energy, and enthusiasm for education; and for its first dean Miss Ella Weed, a thoroughly trained woman, full of energy and resource; and the co-operation of a body of men and women on the Board of Directors who quietly, in faith and patience, laid the foundations on which Barnard has since securely built. To-day the College is adequately and impressively housed on Morningside Heights, near Columbia University, of which it is a part. It started with thirty-six students. At the end of the fourth year it had an endowment of seven thousand dollars, with liabilities amounting to sixteen thousand dollars, and with the prospect of a deficit of thirty thousand the following year. At this juncture, when the institution seemed on the verge of bankruptcy, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, with his customary sagacity in measuring opportunities and character, sent his check for five thousand dollars—a gift which spelled confidence, hope, and renewed enthusiasm for the men and women interested in the College.

With the exception of a gift of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars by Mr. Rockefeller, Barnard has been endowed, housed, and equipped chiefly by the gifts of women. Mrs. A. A. Anderson gave the extremely valuable ground on which it stands, a gift equivalent to a million dollars; and it was largely through the agency of this generous and able woman that the College dormitory came into existence at a cost of nearly three hundred thousand dollars. One anonymous gift to the College amounted to four hundred and forty thousand dollars. After twenty-five years of faith, enthusiasm, and work the College has land, buildings, and equipment, and an endowment amounting to nearly three and a half million dollars. No small part of this extraordinary success has been due to Mr. George A. Plimpton, the treasurer of the College for more than twenty years. The institution has had four deans: Miss Ella Weed, Mrs. George H. Putnam, Miss Gill, and Miss Gildersleeve.

To the Barnard celebration a number of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

able women contributed wit and eloquence. The principal address was made by Miss Woolley, and it was refreshing, at this hour when efficiency occasionally seems to connote ruthless destruction, to hear and to read her inspiriting definition of the function of beauty in education, and especially in the education of women.

ALDEN WEIR

The National Academy of Design of New York City has a new President in succession to Mr. John W. Alexander, the eminent painter, whose resignation after five years of service has occasioned great regret.

The new President is Mr. J. Alden Weir, also well known and distinguished as a portraitist and figure painter. A portrait of him appears on another page. It would be hard for any one to succeed so accomplished, urbane, and efficient an executive as Mr. Alexander has been.

He is sixty-two years old. His father was Professor Robert W. Weir, for many years art instructor at West Point and a painter of historical works, as any one may realize who looks at his "Embarkation of the Pilgrims," which hangs in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington. Professor Weir had two sons —John Ferguson, the elder, and Julian Alden, the younger. The former became Professor of Painting in the Yale School of Fine Arts, and won distinction as both painter and sculptor. Among his statues are those of President Woolsey and Professor Silliman.

Some time after his return to this country he became an Associate and then an Academician of the National Academy of Design. His independent spirit, however, led him to join the founders of the Society of American Artists, the first organization successfully to rebel against the National Academy. Later this revolution became merged in union. Yet the need of two rival art societies was still felt, and hence Mr. Weir helped to form the group known as the "Ten American Painters." Still later, when the Association of American Painters and Sculptors was formed, he was chosen President, a position from which he afterward withdrew.

Mr. Weir might well be called the painters' painter. His greatest fame lies not with the crowd in the street, but among the intelligent members of his own craft. One reason for this is because his delicate art does not appeal to the crowd. It does not usually "tell a story" in the vivid or lurid sense; it does not depict the sea or the snow in their most striking features. Moreover, Mr. Weir is a man of modesty. He is not continually talking to the crowd about what he thinks or about what they should think. Instead of losing the appreciation of critics, these things have only served to gain their appreciation.

TIPS VS. WAGES FOR PULLMAN PORTERS

The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations has examined Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, formerly President of the Pullman Company and now Chairman of its Board of Directors, regarding the wages of porters on Pullman sleeping and parlor cars. The fact that Mr. Lincoln is the son of Abraham Lincoln gives special journalistic interest to his testimony regarding the employment of Negroes by this great transportation corporation. Mr. Lincoln was very frank and made a good impression upon those who heard him. He admitted that the wages of $27.50 a month to porters were too low, that the porters could not afford to work if they did not supplement their wages by tips received from the public, and that therefore in a very real sense the stockholders of the Pullman Company are beneficiaries of the tipping system. Porters on the cars of the Pullman Company can neither eat nor sleep with regularity while on duty, and, although many of them maintain their families with commendable devotion and self-respect, their family life is by the very nature of their occupation broken into by frequent absence from home. Their work is hard and exacting. It is true that Mr. Lincoln was justified in saying that the Pullman Company has contributed a great deal to the material uplifting of colored men by furnishing them with employment for which they are specially fitted. But that does not deprive them of their right to reasonable wages. The Pullman Company is one of the most prosperous corporations in the United States, and has regularly paid large dividends to its stockholders. It cannot, therefore, be excused for paying low wages. If the purpose of the Industrial Commission is to obtain for these colored porters an increase in their wages, we hope the endeavor will meet with success. But if, as appears from the trend of the examination of Mr. Lincoln, the Commission also wants to relieve the public from the financial burden of giving tips to porters, we disagree

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with this object. A correspondent writes to us on this question as follows:

I want to put in a plea for the habit of tipping in the Pullman car. The porter seems to me to render two services and to be entitled to two payments. One service is rendered to the Pullman Company in making up the beds, keeping the car in order, and generally ministering to the comforts of the traveling public. For these the Pullman Company ought to pay an adequate wage. Whether the wage it pays is adequate or not I do not know.

He also renders a special service to the individual passenger in carrying his dress-suit case to and from the railroad platform, in polishing his shoes and brushing his clothes. I do not see any reason why the traveler should not pay for this special service if he accepts it, nor do I see any difficulty in his declining to accept it and then refusing to pay. Speaking for myself, and, I am inclined to think, for a majority of travelers, if a porter polishes my shoes and carries my dress-suit case for me I prefer to pay him for the service than to take it as an unpaid service either from the porter or the Pullman Company.

Insolence in demanding tips or extravagance in paying them is to be condemned; but most tip-giving in this country is generally a payment for personal services rendered, and as such it is to be defended both on ethical and economic grounds.

JAPAN AND CHINA

Americans interested in the welfare of China and Japan will rejoice that, at a time when international differences have brought half the world into war, these two Oriental countries have adjusted their difficulties on a basis of mutual compromise.

On another page The Outlook summarizes the provisions of agreement which the two nations have reached, and comments on the four groups in which those provisions may be divided. The official Japanese statement declares that the Japanese demands have been presented in unauthorized and grossly exaggerated forms. Two sets of those demands have appeared, each claiming official sanction; but the two differ at important points, and The Outlook has steadily taken the position that until the Americans had before them the authoritative text of Japanese demands they could not pass judgment upon them. Both the earlier statements of Japanese claims certainly convey the impression that, if conceded, they would have infringed the governmental integrity of the Chinese Republic. There were provisions regarding what may be called the policing of China, the imposition of Japanese advisers, and the limitation of Chinese liberty of action in several departments which on their face threatened Chinese integrity.

It ought to be remembered, however, that, as formerly in Western diplomacy, and always in Eastern diplomacy, demands are made in excess of expectations in order to lay a basis for consultation and concession on both sides. It is irrational for Americans passionately to espouse the cause of either China or Japan; though the anti-Japanese propaganda in this country has been so urgent and aggressive that many Americans have come to suspect all statements regarding Japanese intentions and all interpretations of Japanese purposes.

The situation in the East is not generally understood in this part of the world. In order to understand it an American must put himself in the place of an Oriental; and that is not an easy thing to do. The Japanese are Orientals. To them Asia is precisely what the Americas are to the Americans, or Europe is to the Europeans; and as the American has a kind of continental consciousness, so the Japanese has an Asiatic consciousness. The American has built, in the Monroe Doctrine, an invisible wall around America. He has done this in no spirit of unfriendliness to Europe, and with no purpose of National aggrandizement. He has done it for the protection of his country; and, later, he has interpreted the doctrine as a doctrine of good will to the weaker nations in both North and South America. The Japanese has also a Monroe Doctrine. He believes that Asia should be primarily for the Asiatics. Both England and America have shut the door in the face of his working people, and have told him they must stay in Asia. It is natural, therefore, that he should be anxious to preserve Asia for Asiatics.

When the educated Japanese looks at Asia, he finds it largely under Western rule. He finds England in India; England and Russia in Persia; England, Russia, France, and Germany exercising practical control over what are known euphemistically as "spheres of influence" in China. He finds Italy taking possession of part of the Nearer East; and, if he looks as far as Africa, he discovers European flags flying in every part of the continent. Under these circumstances he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

naturally asks himself how the integrity of Japan, the only well-organized and independent country in the Far East, can be maintained.

China is her nearest neighbor; it has many possibilities of development, and is therefore the most tempting field for Western exploitation. It is also the greatest source of danger to Japan.

When the war broke out, the Germans were in possession of the port of Tsingtau, including the city of Kiaochau, in the Province of Shantung. They had seized that section of country and fortified the port by the expenditure of many millions of dollars. In ten years it would probably have become practically impregnable. Dr. Takamine accurately described it as "the branch office of Germany in Asia." It was directly across the sea from Japan. It bore precisely the same relation to Japan which a great naval base in one of the West Indian Islands would bear to the United States. Under no circumstances would the United States permit such a naval base to be established. In accordance with the provisions of its treaty with England the Japanese attacked Tsingtau and captured it; and so removed a menace from their future. Whatever Americans may think of their recent attitude towards China, no American who understands conditions will doubt either their right to do just what they have done in the Province of Shantung or the wisdom of doing it. The establishment of Japanese rule in Korea had the same justification. Prince Ito said, "Whoever holds Korea holds a dagger over the heart of Japan." The Japanese occupation of South Manchuria, including Port Arthur and Dalny, has the same justification. It would be impossible for the Japanese to permit a European Power to hold Port Arthur.

This situation is well and briefly stated in a letter from a man who is extremely friendly to the Chinese and in intimate relations with missionary work in that country:

"At least I think there is a question whether in this action of hers Japan is not largely moved by a sincere jealousy as to Western influence in the Orient. She has seen Western Powers—Germany, England, etc.—secure territory or spheres of special influence or political and financial advisers in China; she has observed how Africa has been divided up among these same Powers; she is concerned that nothing of the sort shall occur in the Far East. This preoccupied time in the affairs of the European world she may regard as the opportune hour for her to prevent further aggressions of the West in China, which, as yet, is unable herself to prevent such procedure."

Prince Katsura once said that he did not mind the refusal of the American yellow press and of some American public men to concede the possession of character to the Japanese people; but he did wish they would credit Japan with a little common sense. There are two interpretations of the Japanese attitude towards China, one of which is distinctly legitimate and honorable; the other, while entirely in accord with the practice of the great Powers of Europe, would not have been in accord with American principles and ideas nor with the American hope for the future of Japan. Japan believes that, by reason of her thorough organization, her national education, her military strength, evidenced by the fact that she is the only well-organized, self-governing country in Asia, her mission is to lead Asia in the period of development which has opened there—a development which in the end will contribute immensely to civilization and which will not be inimicable to the West but co-operative with it. In order to secure this, Japan wishes to stand in the closest relations with China, not only as an Asiatic Power, but for her own safety. She desires also to have her share in the great development which is coming in China. In the application of an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine Japan has this difficulty to contend with: China is so weak that she cannot protect herself. Japan has to deal, not only with her, but with the possibilities of her weakness. A man has the right to say to his neighbor, You cannot keep a dangerous bulldog or have an open cesspool on your premises, because they endanger the health and safety of my family. Now China has been helpless in the hands of Western exploiters. She affords opportunities of danger to Japan by her weakness. The Japanese hold that they have a right to protect China from her weakness; they wish to stand in her councils, to have certain privileges which will enable them to forestall attempts at future exploitation, to give them a chance to aid in the development of the near future.

These are perfectly legitimate ambitions. So far as The Outlook can understand the terms of agreement between the two countries, these are substantially what Japan has achieved. She has stood for the Open Door,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and she is under treaty obligations to preserve the territorial integrity of the Chinese Republic. In South Manchuria and in inner Mongolia she is obviously endeavoring to protect herself against further foreign aggression. On the south coast of China, opposite the island of Formosa, which she holds, she has pursued the same end.

In regard to China proper—that is to say, to the Eighteen Provinces—the provisions of the treaty will put Japan somewhat on a level with foreign countries, while she makes no claim to territorial authority, and promises to restore Shantung to China on certain conditions at the close of the war.

Everything will now depend on the spirit in which the Japanese use their privileges in China. If they use their privileges oppressively and selfishly, they will miss a great opportunity, disappoint their friends, forfeit the confidence of the West, and will receive and deserve the condemnation of the Western world. If, on the other hand, they are to establish a Monroe Doctrine for Asia which looks to the protection and development of that great section of the globe and not to their own aggrandizement, they will justify the faith of those who believe in their capacity for national greatness, and they will have the opportunity of rendering an almost unique service to civilization.

VULGARIZING AMERICAN CHILDREN

An old gentleman once complained to Emerson that he had never received any deference, because in his childhood all honor was paid to age, and in his age all the thought and attention were given to children.

Reverence for age is, like reverence of every kind, the characteristic of highly civilized people; but if it were necessary to sacrifice one of these two kinds of reverence, it would be better for society to give up reverence for the old rather than reverence for childhood. The old have made their lives—have largely made their souls, to recall a French phrase; but the young are still making their lives.

It is almost impossible to exaggerate the care, thought, and intelligence which ought to surround children, and it is one of the hopeful signs of the times that society is more and more guarding their health by supervising the houses in which they live, the milk and the water they drink, the food they eat, their exercise. In many communities the regulation of the physical life of children is becoming both a science and an art.

But in curious contradiction to this care for the body is the extraordinary absence of care for the minds of children. Many influences are at work to vulgarize American children, and little is done by many parents to protect the mental health of their children. Neither time nor money is spared to preserve them in vigor and strength, to protect them from contamination; but there are hosts of houses built and conducted with full recognition of all sanitary regulations in which none of the older people pay any attention to the minds of the children. Meanwhile those minds are the prey of a great many influences which, if not actually evil, are vulgarizing. Nothing could be worse, so far as the artistic sense and moral good taste are concerned, than the great majority of the so-called comic supplements published by the newspapers. The Outlook has pointed out more than once the bad taste, lack of artistic feeling, and general stupidity of much of the illustration in these supplements. One has only to make a collection of them to see that the great majority of these supplements published between Boston and San Francisco are mere repetitions of the cheapest and crudest kind of humor. They are devoid of any skill in drawing, in the portraiture of character; but worst of all are the inevitable lessons they teach of lack of respect for the old, lack of reverence for marriage and the family, for other races, and general lawlessness. No child who has the comic supplement put before his eyes Sunday after Sunday during his childhood can fail to be more or less contaminated in taste and morals.

To this must be added a great number of the films on which hundreds of thousands of children are looking throughout the country. The moving picture in some form is part of the recreation of the country. It has great educational possibilities and manifold wholesome uses; but many of the films, although not indecent, are in the last degree vulgar. They cheapen love, marriage, and family life. They lower the respect of boys for women, the respect of girls for themselves. They idealize burglary and crime of many kinds, and they are a menace to the welfare of the country. What is going on is not so much the corruption of young people in America as their vulgarization. Some of the sex plays are too frank; many of them are intended

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to appeal to instincts which need restraint rather than stimulation, and they express, therefore, the meanest kind of commercialism. But much more dangerous, because more insidious, are many of the musical comedies. Thousands of people who would not go to see "The Easiest Way" will go to a musical comedy in which all the girls are soubrettes and the relations between men and women are treated as mere material for cheap fun. And these musical comedies are given at amateur performances for the benefit of charities by carefully bred girls who seem entirely oblivious of the low and vulgar tone which runs through them.

With this group of influences which tend to vulgarize the American community, to blur the fine old standards and corrupt the finer taste, must be counted a great deal of the reading which is put into the hands of boys and girls. A recent article in the New Jersey "Library Bulletin" by Miss Hunt, of the Brooklyn Public Library, emphasizes the difficulty which libraries meet in putting good material into the hands of children. She enumerates among the cheap and cheapening books with which children are, so to speak, flooded, the written-to-order information book, which is so wooden and lifeless that it kills all future interest in the subject; the retold classic, in which not a trace of the spirit of the original remains, and which breeds contempt in the child's mind for the original; the cheap picture book, modeled after the comic supplement, hideous alike in color and caricature, an insidious enemy of good manners, good taste, and general decency; many of the folk and fairy tales, interesting to the mythologist, but improper reading for children; the school stories in which masters and boys alike prostrate themselves in the dust before the football heroes; and the namby-pamby, goody-goody, mushy stories which present as a manly ideal Little Lord Fauntleroy grown up to maturity, but still wearing velvet and a picture hat.

But worst of all is the mediocre book which is published in enormous numbers and devoured by the children of the whole country; the books which make the muscles of the mind flabby; books which are fed to the child in spoonfuls, and, as Mr. J. P. Munroe aptly says, are sure to breed "mental and moral dyspepsia in a race of milksops." These are strong words, but they are not too strong for the subject.

Great masses of books put into the hands of American boys simply make them intellectually idle, superficial, and mentally unmanly. Professor Münsterberg says: "There is indeed a difference whether I ask what may best suit the taste and liking of Peter, the darling, or whether I ask what Peter, the man, will need for the battle of life in which nobody asks what he likes, but where the question is how he is liked, and how he suits the taste of his neighbors." For the chief enemy of active virtue, Dr. G. Stanley Hall has written, "is not vice, but laziness, languor, and apathy of will." One page of a real story like "Treasure Island" is worth a whole library of this milk-and-water prepared food. Indeed, it would be better to starve children, so far as reading is concerned, and let them find all their interests out of themselves, rather than to weaken their minds, dissipate the power of attention, and debilitate the whole character by this sort of reading.

And what shall be said of the community which permits a "Jack and Jill Wedding," described in the following paragraph reprinted from the "Living Church"?

> The "Jack and Jill Wedding," which took place last night at the —— —— church under the auspices of the —— —— —— Union, was a unique affair. The little folks put a surprise over on their elders by their calmness of performance. The solos rendered by these four-year-olds would put a church choir to shame. All of the sixty youngsters who participated were good in their parts, and Miss —— was about as blushing a bride as has been seen, while William ——, the groom, seemed pretty well initiated. The entertainment was directed by Miss —— and greeted by a full house. By the expression of their faces every one appeared satisfied with the match.

LETTERS TO UNKNOWN FRIENDS

Will you publish a series of articles upon personal immortality? I would suggest that you write the first article, and that you be followed by men eminent in science, philosophy, psychology, and medicine. I long to believe in the loving Fatherhood of God, but even before sorrow came into my own life I was beginning to be greatly troubled by the problem of undeserved suffering and premature death.

We published in Volume 100 of The Outlook a series of articles on Immortality, by Dr. Pritchett, Dr. Grenfell, Dr. Whiton,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and myself. If I did not believe in personal immortality, this life would be to me a hopeless enigma. As it is, death does not seem to me a tragedy, great as is the sorrow which it brings to those who survive. At least, it is not any such tragedy as it appears to be to those to whom death is the end of personality. I believe the body to be simply the tabernacle in which for a little while I dwell. Death and resurrection are synonymous terms. Both are the separation of the spirit from the body. The dropping of the body into the grave we call death; the upspringing of the spirit into a larger, freer life we call resurrection. My father, my mother, my wife, my friends who have gone before, constitute a "cloud of witnesses" who look on to see how I run my race and live my life. They are to me neither dead nor in a happy land "far, far away," but my companions and the inspirers of my life and the quickeners of my hope and love.

I would be glad if you would give me some suggestions as to how to raise or create ideals in the minds of the members of a Sunday-school class. I have been trying for some time to think of some way to help them, as well as myself by helping them.

Some years ago I was acting as preacher at Harvard University. A friend of mine who had a boys' club in Cambridge, and was equipped for her work by a large experience in dealing with boys, asked if I could not get two or three college students to come in and help her. I said, "What do you want them to do?" She said: "I don't care what they do. What I want is that two or three gentlemen should spend a couple of hours a week with my boys. What they do is unimportant. If they can really get hold of the boys, interest the boys, be one with the boys for a little while, the boys will imbibe gentlemanly ideals and habits unconsciously."

My daughter, who lives with me at my Cornwall home, has been carrying on for some years a boys' club. She has done no systematic teaching, but she has had the boys at our home, sometimes in private conversation, sometimes in games, and she has interested herself in their sports and gone with them to their ball games. A group of older boys who have been in the club for some time have co-operated in the work for the younger boys. As one result, boys who a few years ago were smoking cigarettes have given up smoking altogether. There was in the "Literary Digest" a saying which she is fond of quoting: "There is as much difference between working *for* boys and working *with* boys as there is between a bath sponge and a sponge bath."

The only practical suggestion I can make to you is this: If you take a real interest in the things which interest your boys, and if you are, so to speak, a boy with them, they will presently begin to take an interest in the things which interest you, and at least look towards your ideal of manhood as their ideal. This is a very general principle and capable of a great variety of applications. How it is to be applied must always, I imagine, depend upon the temperament of the individual and the circumstances of the case.

Is it not hypocrisy for one to attend church while he is not living in accordance with the precepts of Christianity and does not profess to be a Christian? Is it not better to worship truth at home?

It is hypocrisy for one to attend church who does not believe in the Christ spirit and the Christian precepts if he attends for the purpose of giving the public an impression that he does believe in them, and that he is in sympathy with the church and its teachings when in fact he has no such sympathy. But no man who has high ideals lives up to his ideals. We all of us, whether Christians or not, must say at times, We have done the things that we ought not to have done and we have left undone the things that we ought to have done. Most of us who go to church go because we want either our ideals elevated or our will to live up to those ideals strengthened. The fact that we do not already live up to them affords no indication of hypocrisy, either conscious or unconscious. As to worshiping truth, that is impossible. Worship is for a person. Indeed, there is no such thing as truth without a person. Truth, purity, and goodness can no more exist without a person of whom they are qualities than red, blue, and yellow can exist without a thing of which they are qualities. You can idealize a person whom you regard as truthful—that is, full of truth—and reverence him because he possesses that quality. It is because we do thus attribute to the Supreme Being these supreme qualities that we reverence him. LYMAN ABBOTT.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE TRIAL AT SYRACUSE

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE third week of the trial at Syracuse had little of that dramatic quality which marked the opening phases of the contest. To begin with (if not to end with), Mr. Roosevelt, instead of occupying the witness chair, spent a large part of his time seated with his lawyers at the counsel table reading from "The Acharnians" of Aristophanes. With Mr. Roosevelt out of the witness chair, the trial changed from a duel of personalities waged in the familiar arena of political history to a fight over the admission of evidence, legal definition, and the peculiarly moribund memory of reluctant witnesses called, but by no means chosen, by the defense.

Most plays finish up the work of exposition in the first act. Then the theater-goer is permitted to sit back and enjoy the sequence of the story as it is told. The Syracuse trial, however, is not being staged by playwrights—a fact that reminds one that all of Shakespeare's plays are to be found in the dictionary save that the words are not in the proper order. Perhaps the counsel for Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Bowers and his associates, cannot be blamed for the appearance of confusion, for if any examiners ever had to extract more material from a less communicative group of witnesses they are to be pitied. Mr. Bowers was really very much in the position of a playwright attempting to create an extemporaneous drama. Such cues as he gave his actors they apparently possessed not the slightest ability to remember. The scenario (in the form of the records of corporations under fire) was either mislaid or written in a cipher the key to which had been lost. During the process of rehearsal attorneys for the plaintiff exercised to the full their prerogative of objecting to every "line" in the play. And over Mr. Bowers's head hung the very real threat that the judge, whom we may call owner of the theater in which the trial is being staged, would exercise his right to obliterate officially from the minds of the jury (the audience) every other "act" in the play that was struggling into life.

WHAT A LIBEL SUIT MEANS

The burden of proof in a libel suit, as any one who has watched through a single day of the Syracuse trial very well comes to understand, always rests upon the defense. The character of the plaintiff as well as the defendant are matters of concern for the jury, but the real fight takes place on these two questions: Were the charges made by the defendant true? Were they made without malice?

A libel is everything written or printed which reflects on the character of another and is published without lawful justification, whatever the intention of the publisher may have been. The communication of such libelous matter to another requesting or intending that the latter should publish it renders one liable to be sued. Every repetition of defamatory words constitutes a new publication and a new cause for action.

When publication of libelous matter is proved, as has been done in the trial between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Barnes, the defense must show that the publication complained of was true and that it was not malicious. A complete defense must cover both of these points, and must be made as broad as the defamatory accusation in order to constitute complete justification. Certain forms of criticism made upon the acts of a man in public life are more or less privileged. Judge Andrews has so far reserved his decision as to whether the criticisms made by Mr. Roosevelt fall in any way in this class.

EVIDENCE OFFERED IN JUSTIFICATION

In his endeavor to make a complete defense to his charge that Mr. Barnes represented the alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics, and that as the head of the Republican machine in New York State Mr. Barnes had a working agreement with the Democratic organization, Mr. Roosevelt has attempted to establish a connection between Mr. Barnes and the Albany printing ring, and by his own testimony and that of such men as Senator Davenport, Senator Hinman, Senator Agnew, and Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt he has also endeavored to show the closeness of the bond between the Democratic and the Republican machines. Judge Andrews has admitted to final record a large amount of testimony in justification of the charge that Mr. Barnes was in alliance with the Democratic machine. A larger amount of testi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mony has, temporarily at least, been brought before the jury (and finally before the court of public opinion) which tends to show that the printing business for the State of New York has been conducted in a grossly extravagant manner, that printing contracts have been awarded to favored bidders in violation of the spirit of the law, and that these same bidders failed even adequately to perform the work for which the State had so wastefully contracted. Similarly it has been shown that contracts required by laws which were obviously not placed on the statute-books in the interest of the State have been awarded for printing material which was not of the slightest value to the State. It has likewise been shown that again and again matter has been reprinted from the same type and that the State has paid for this work at the price of original composition. It has been shown that the records of the three concerns with which the State has done the largest amount of its printing business were kept in such form as almost to baffle the efforts of the most expert examiner.

In the same way the defense has produced testimony to show that the Albany Journal Company, of which Mr. Barnes is president and of which he owns a very large majority of the stock, has taken contracts for State printing which it had neither the plant nor the intention to fulfill. Again, it has been shown that many of these contracts have been handed over to the J. B. Lyon Company, of Albany, in which Mr. Barnes was a stockholder and from the president of which for two years he received a salary of ten thousand dollars a year. Why this salary was paid to Mr. Barnes has not yet directly appeared, nor does it seem likely that the reason can ever be proved other than by inference. It has been shown that even on some contracts from the State, county, and city of Albany, which the J. B. Lyon Company apparently secured for itself, a commission has been paid to the Journal Company. Furthermore, it has been apparently shown that Mr. Barnes at the time he was receiving a salary from Mr. J. B. Lyon attempted to persuade the then Governor-elect Roosevelt to abandon his plan for the establishment of a State printing plant, on the ground that it would affect his financial interests "seriously if not fatally."

In the course of the trial Mr. Roosevelt's attorneys have run aground on many legal snags, not the least difficult to surmount being that of the Corporation Law. It has not been enough to show that Mr. Barnes was the head and controlling factor in the Journal Company, and that the Journal Company as a whole profited by grossly wasteful contracts given to another concern in which Mr. Barnes was a stockholder and from which the Journal Company received constant commissions. The Court has held that complete justification by the defense can be made only if it is shown first that Mr. Barnes had specific knowledge of the facts regarding the individual contracts, and that he exerted his political influence improperly in behalf of the concern with which the Journal Company was in working alliance. The fact that the minute books of the directors' meetings of the J. B. Lyon Company during the time in which Mr. Barnes was a stockholder are curiously missing, and that the original cost sheets of that company and other data bearing on the actual cost of the printing done have been destroyed or mislaid, has no legal bearing on the chain of evidence by which Mr. Roosevelt's attorneys have attempted to connect Mr. Barnes with what has been known as the Albany printing ring.

Of course all this evidence has reached the attention of the jury, as it has reached the ears of the public. Those who have been in the court-room have been able to form an opinion of the justness of Mr. Roosevelt's charges, based upon the frank attitude and open manner of the defendant and his witnesses and the attitude of the plaintiff and the men who have been in business relations with him as much as from the testimony finally admitted to the court record. The outcome of the case is, of course, still in doubt. Much depends upon what Judge Andrews finally permits to go before the jury and upon his charge as to the legal niceties of the case. It can be said without equivocation, however, whatever the decision of the jury, that Mr. Roosevelt during the progress of his defense has performed a noteworthy public service in baring the methods and customs that have endured for so long in New York State's public printing. This trial should put a final quietus upon that scandalous state of affairs.

Those who have followed day by day the progress of this exhausting trial, who have watched the tempers and the patience of almost every one connected with the affair (except the defendant) being worn to a razor's edge, who have realized the exacting labors connected with the unearthing of the printing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

situation and the still hunts for legal precedent and principle, will hardly agree with the elevator boy in the Hotel Onondaga who, when told that the Court had cut down the sittings from six hours to five, remarked judicially, "Them ain't bad hours, is they?"

They at least have been "bad hours" indeed for the printers of Albany and the astute Republican leader of Albany County.

Syracuse, May 9. HAROLD T. PULSIFER.

Since the writing of this correspondence Judge Andrews has ruled on two important phases of the case as put forward by the defense. In Mr. Roosevelt's direct testimony he gave as the source of his information in regard to the printing scandals of Albany the report of the Bayne Committee of the Assembly. Judge Andrews has now decided that all the testimony painfully extracted by Mr. Bowers from the reluctant lips of the business associates of Mr. Barnes and from the peculiar records of the Journal Company and the J. B. Lyon Company must be stricken from the records so far as justification of the charge is concerned, on the ground that all this information could not have been known to Mr. Roosevelt when he published his alleged libelous article in last July. I cannot, obviously, pretend to criticise the legality of this ruling. To a layman, however, it seems that, on similar grounds, a prosecuting attorney should be forbidden to use any evidence against a prisoner other than that known to him at the time of the prisoner's indictment. The defendant in a libel suit is placed virtually in the position of a prosecuting attorney. Why should he not have as broad an opportunity for the securing of evidence as has the lawyer for the public? Legally the defense seems to have been caught "coming and going," for the rules of evidence have previously prevented Mr. Roosevelt from placing before the Court anything in regard to Mr. Barnes's political activities which he had reason to believe was true, but which he did not specifically mention in his "libelous" article. On this ground his counsel were prevented from attempting to connect Mr. Barnes with the gambling-houses and vice resorts of Albany.

Judge Andrews's second important ruling dealt with the definition of the word "corrupt." According to Judge Andrews, the charge of political corruption does not necessarily mean that the plaintiff was venal, but may mean that he was guilty of improper acts. While so far as justifying the charge is concerned Judge Andrews has cut the case for Mr. Roosevelt down to the bare skeleton, his latest rulings have made certain of the fact that the case will be sent to the jury.—H. T. P.

THE STORY OF THE WAR

BY GREGORY MASON

THE Lusitania tragedy is treated elsewhere in this issue of The Outlook.

Although eclipsed by the reports of this sea horror, other news from the nations at war during the week May 5 to May 12 was of considerable importance.

On both the eastern and western battle fronts the advantages of the week went to the Teutons. But in the east the successes won by the Teutonic allies were of greater significance than anything that has been done since the Russians pushed almost through the Carpathians after capturing Przemysl.

A BAD WEEK FOR RUSSIA

It was a bad week for Russia. Petrograd admits that the enemy captured Libau, on the Baltic, and that they tnrew back the Russian right flank in western Galicia thirty miles, forcing the Slavs to retire from the line of the Dunajec to the line of the Wisloka. Incidentally the Austro-Germans captured Tarnow, a manufacturing city of 35,000 inhabitants, about a third of the way from Cracow to Przemysl.

In reading the despatches from the front it is easy to exaggerate the importance of purely local military movements. In simmering down the reports that come in during the space of a week, and in synthesizing a condensed history of the week from them, it is difficult to give that bit of history just the proportions it should have in relation to the

(*Continued on page following illustrations*)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Current Events Pictorially Treated

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

YOSHIHITO, THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN

COPYRIGHT BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

YUAN SHI-KAI, THE PRESIDENT OF CHINA

The Emperor Yoshihito is a much younger man than the ruler of China; but the two men are both young in the exercise of the supreme power. Yoshihito was born in 1879; he succeeded his father, Mutsuhito, in 1912. Yuan Shi-kai was born in Hungtsing, in the Province of Honan, August 20, 1859; after having occupied responsible positions under the former imperial government of his country, he was elected President of the Republic of China in 1913. His character is sufficiently indicated in his well-known appellation of "the strong man of China." See editorial pages for the terms of the new agreement

TWO RULERS OF THE EAST UNDER WHOM CHINA AND JAPAN HAVE REACHED AN AGREEMENT

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

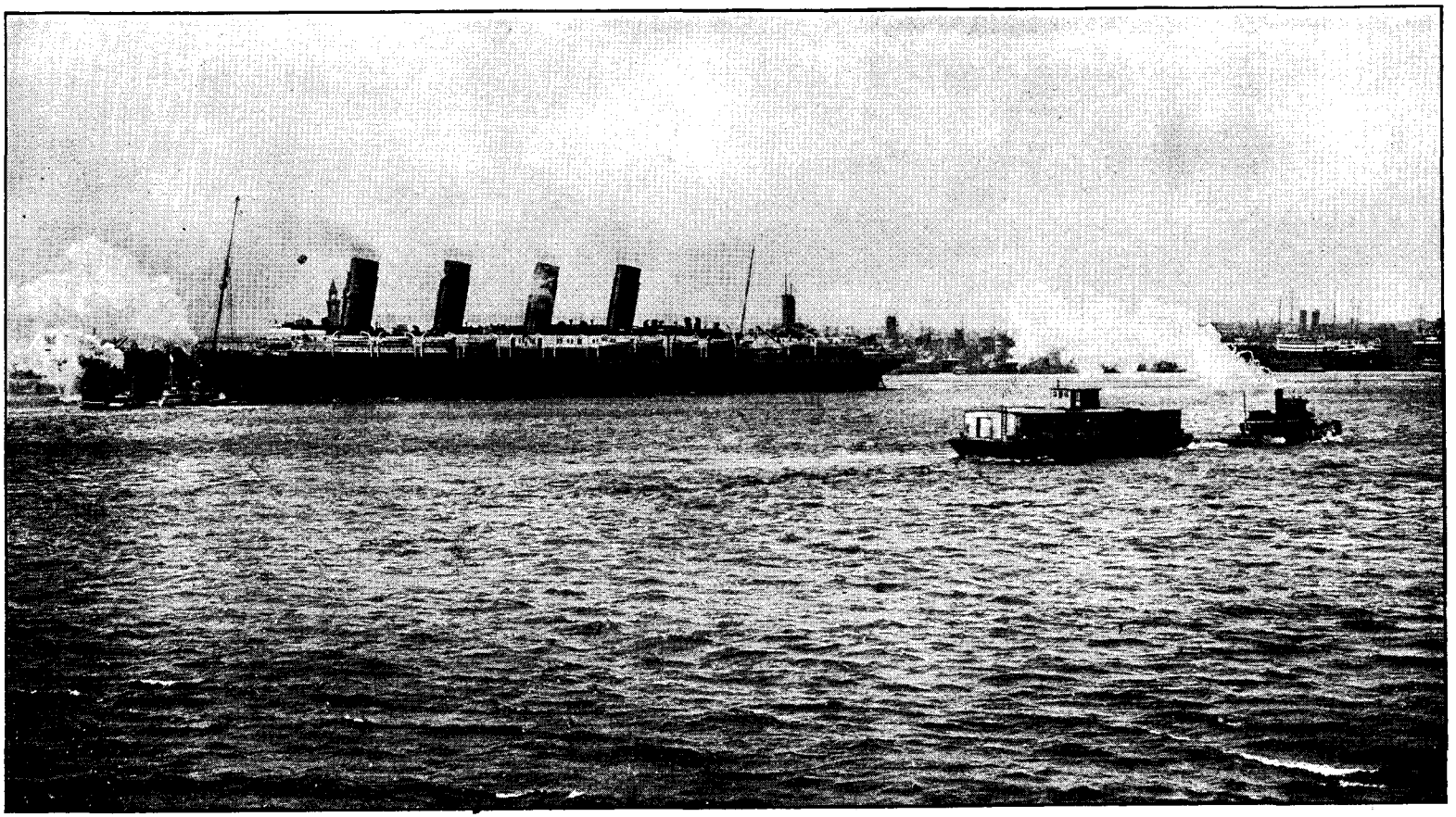
PHOTOGRAPH BY BAIN NEWS SERVICE

PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

THE GULFLIGHT AND HER CAPTAIN

The torpedoing by a German submarine of the American steamer Gulflight, with the consequent death of Captain Alfred Gunter and two of his crew, has been almost forgotten in the world-wide horror and indignation aroused by the torpedoing of the Lusitania; but, as The Outlook pointed out last week, it constituted an international incident of the gravest character

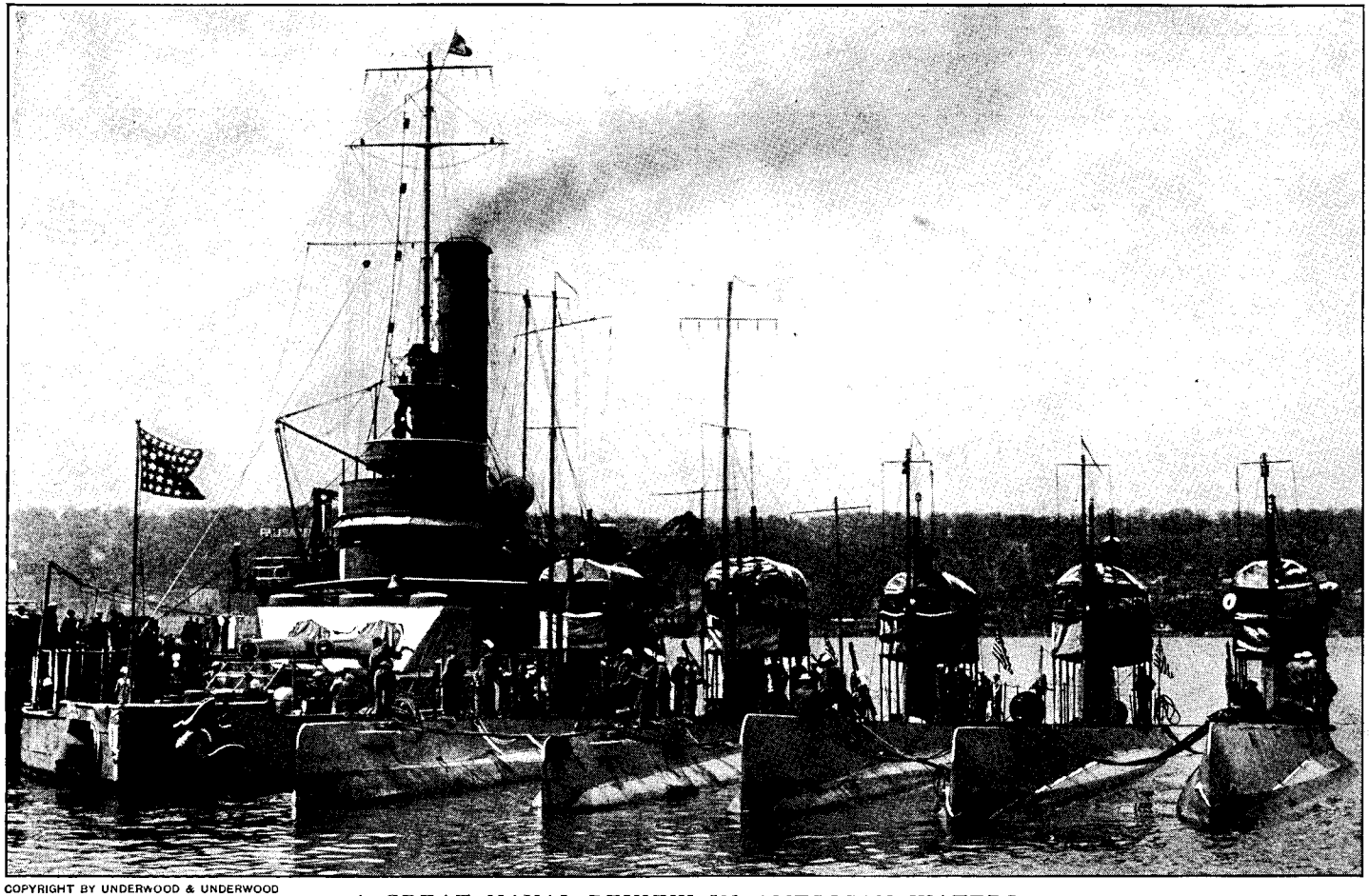
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE LUSITANIA

This photograph was taken as the Lusitania was leaving New York Harbor on her last voyage, which ended in the tragedy off the Irish coast

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

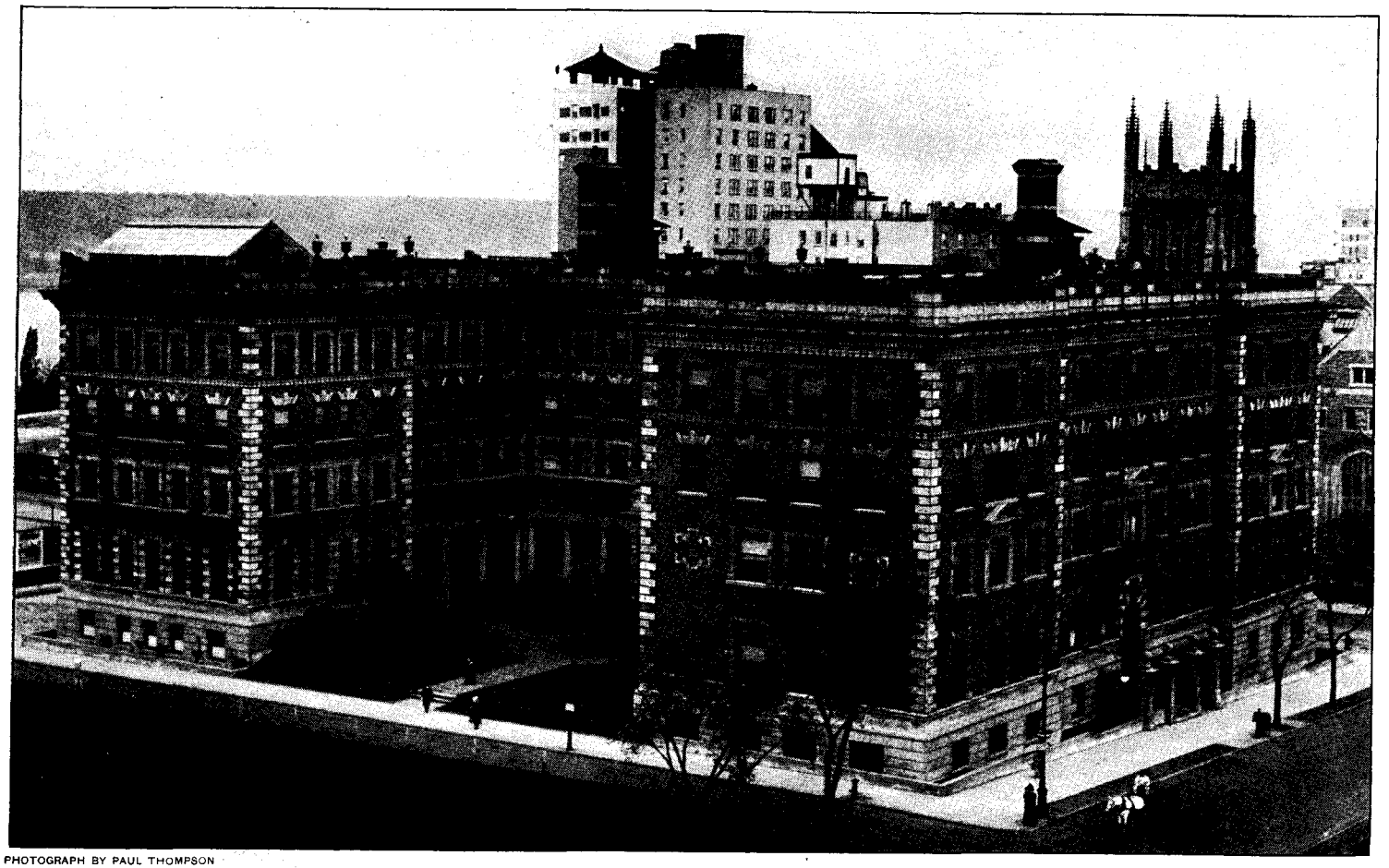


COPYRIGHT BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

A GREAT NAVAL REVIEW IN AMERICAN WATERS

The review of United States war vessels in New York Harbor last week attracted increased public interest because of existing international complications. The picture above shows what has been aptly called "a mother and her daughters"—the Monitor Tonopah, one of the earliest departures from the old-fashioned type of war vessel, and five submarines, the latest and most destructive development of naval shipbuilding

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

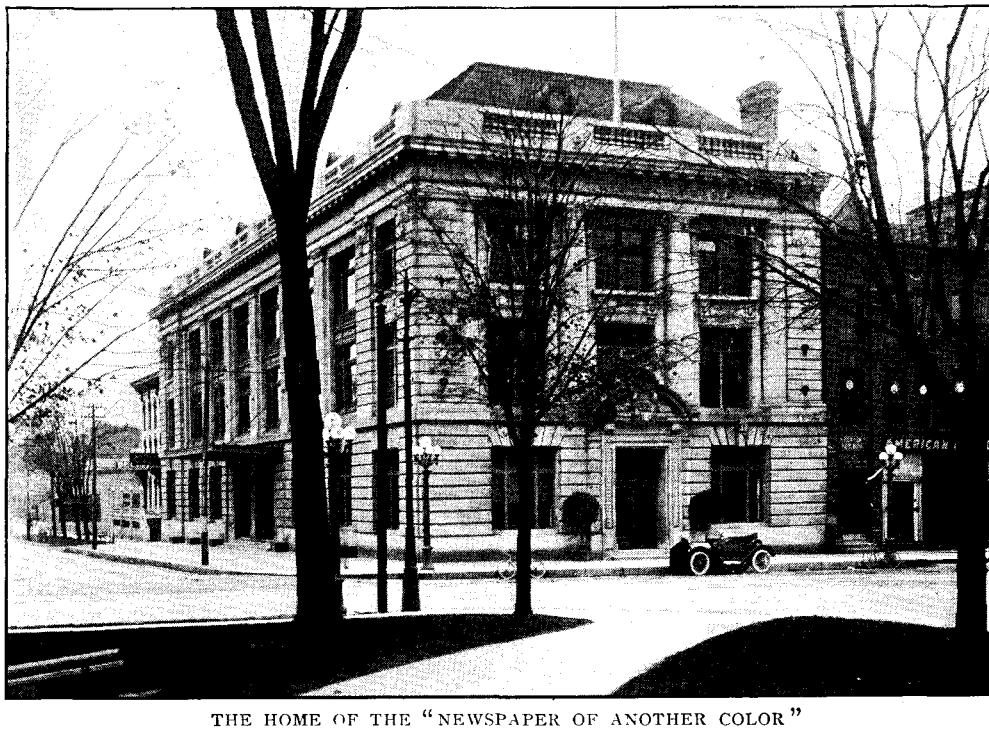


PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

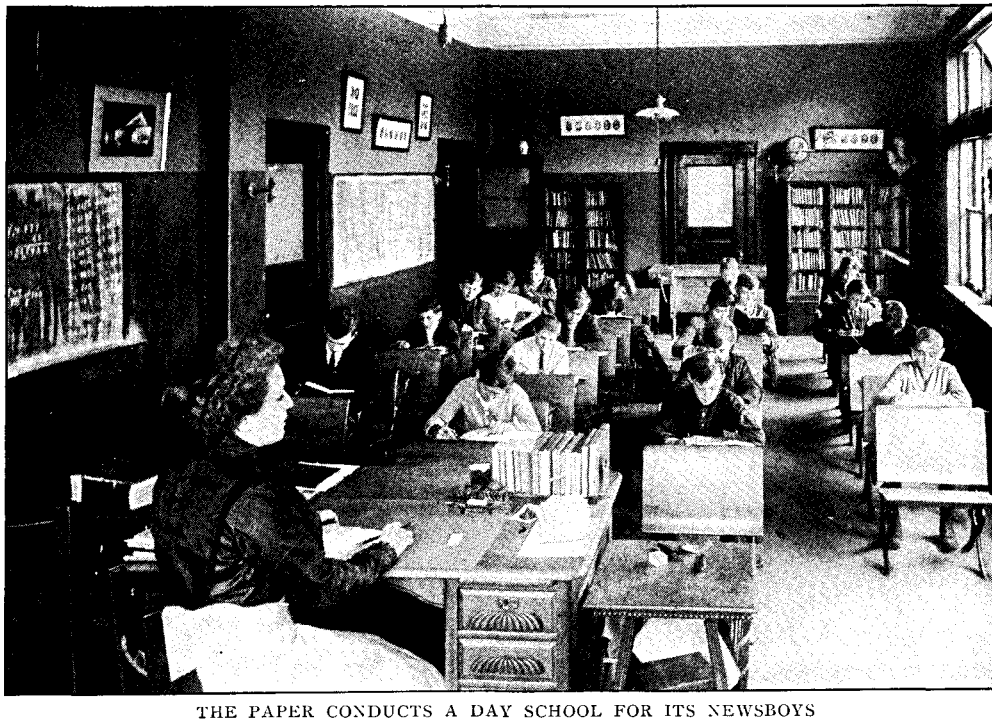
THE QUADRANGLE OF BARNARD COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY, ON ITS TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

See editorial comment on this anniversary

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE HOME OF THE "NEWSPAPER OF ANOTHER COLOR"

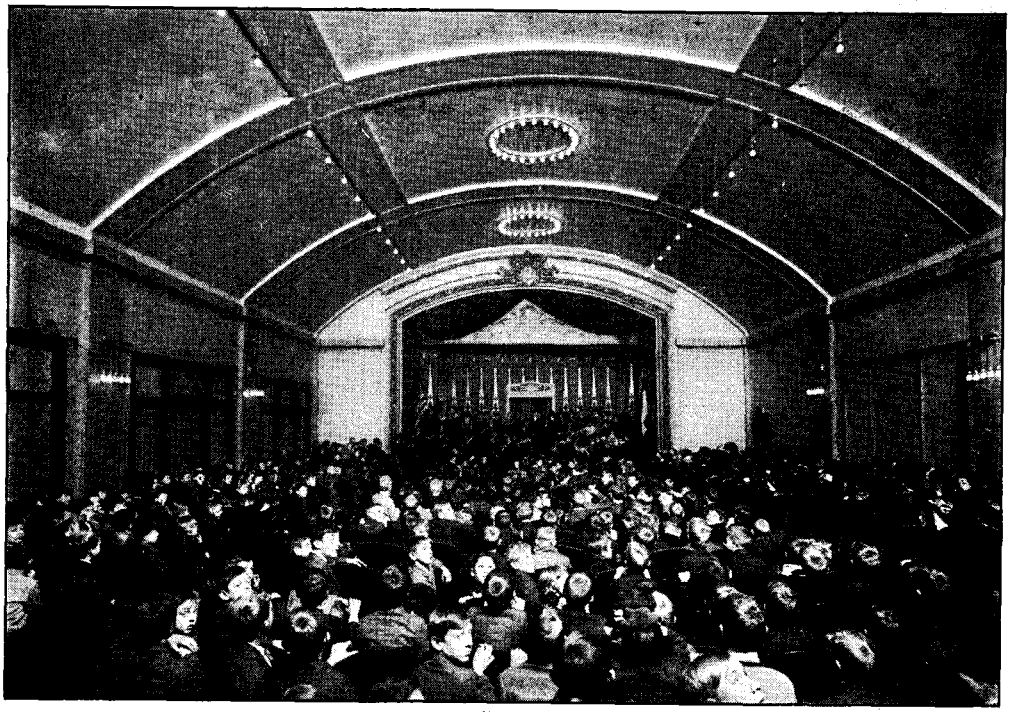


THE PAPER CONDUCTS A DAY SCHOOL FOR ITS NEWSBOYS

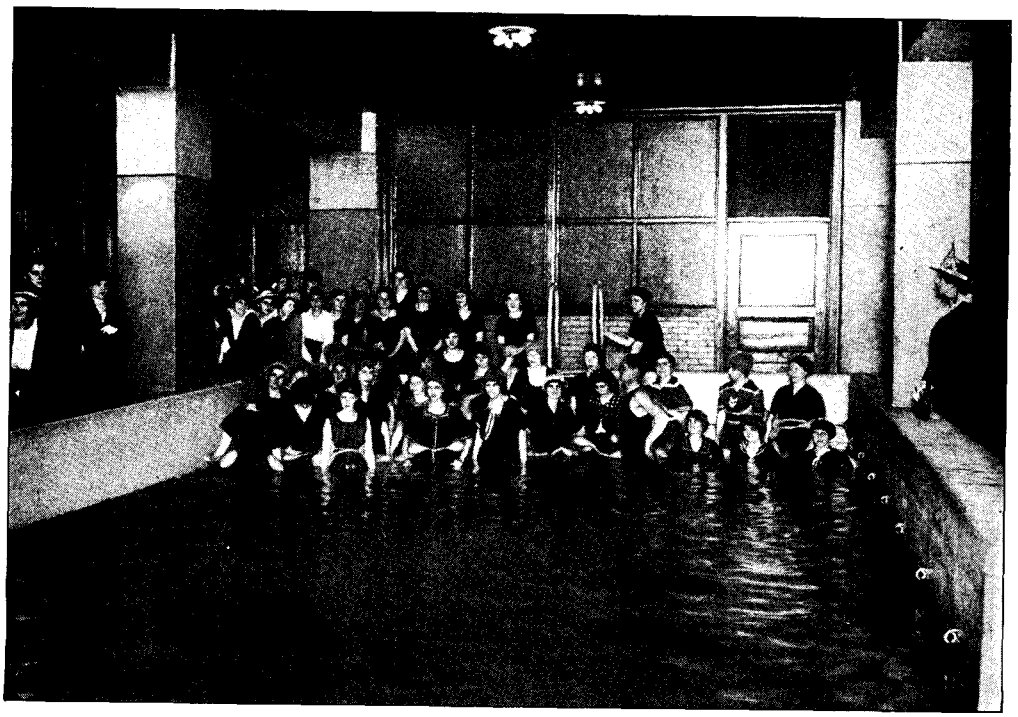
THE HUMAN SIDE OF A WESTERN NEWSPAPER—

Some newspapers in our great cities are disposed to boast of their power and influence, of their fine equipment and activities are pictured above. The hall in which the newsboys are gathered, the school-room in which the equipment. This paper, published in a city of about 125,000 population, has made a real money. For its name and that of the city which has the honor of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE NEWSBOYS HAVE A "HAPPY HOUR" ON SUNDAY

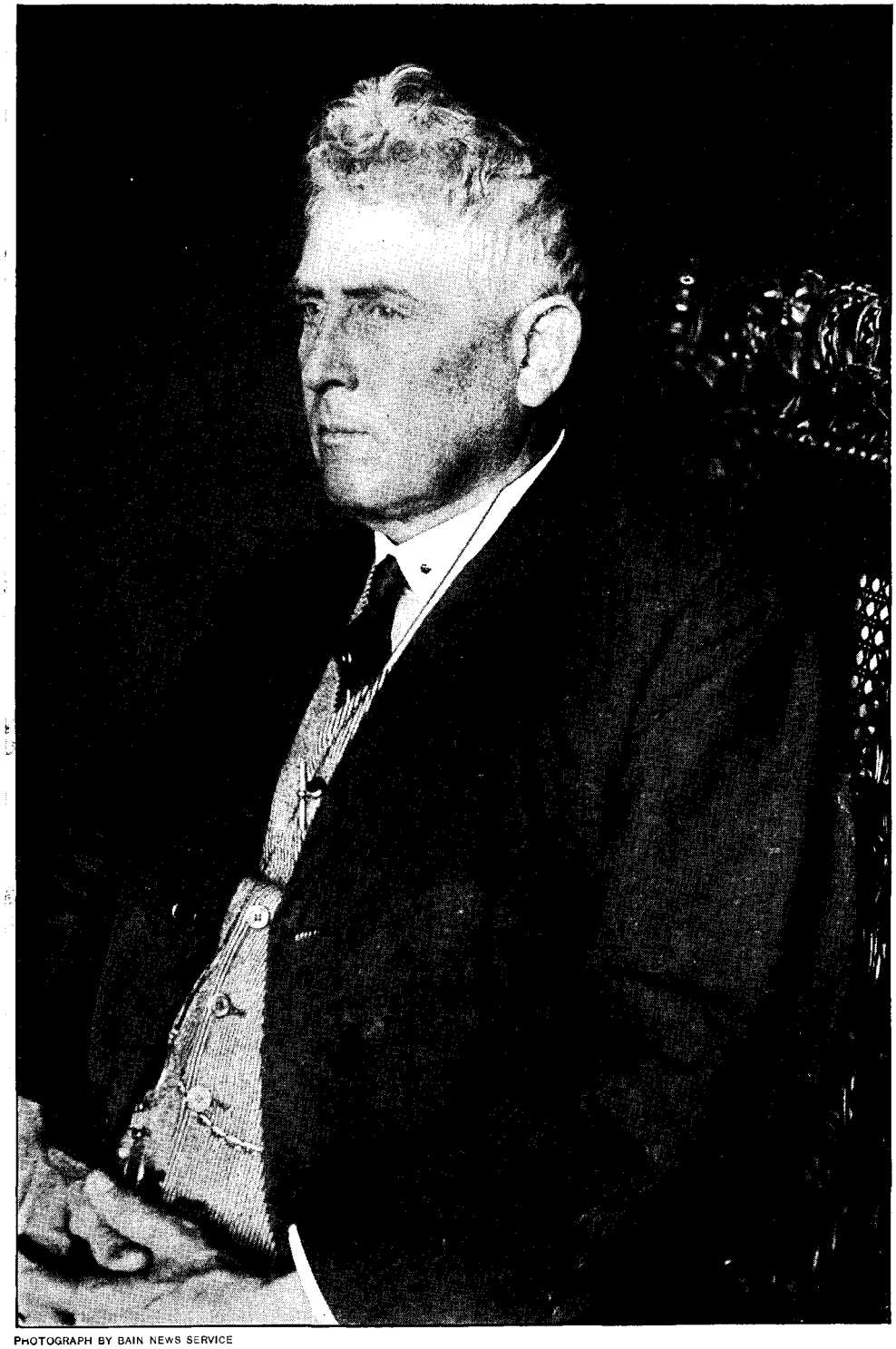


THE SWIMMING-POOL FOR THE EMPLOYEES

CAN ANY METROPOLITAN JOURNAL MATCH IT?

immense circulation ; but most of them might well "take off their hats" to the paper whose home and some of whose newsboys are studying, and the swimming-pool, are all in this newspaper's building and are a part of its home for its workers, has made an honorable reputation as a newspaper, and has made being its home see "A Paper of Another Color" in this issue

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



PHOTOGRAPH BY BAIN NEWS SERVICE

J. ALDEN WEIR, THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN

Succeeding Mr. J. W. Alexander as President of the National Academy of Design, Mr. Weir signalized his advent to office by a move in the direction of popularizing the Academy exhibitions. The admission fee usually charged to the public for seeing the new work of American artists at the Academy's annual exhibition was abolished. Mr. Weir was born in 1852; he studied in Paris under Gérôme; received honorary mention in the Salon of 1881; and has devoted himself to portraiture and to genre work with much success. See editorial comment

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whole history of the war. But there is no doubt that these Russian reverses are important, both from a political and from a military standpoint.

For weeks Italy has been supposed to be on the point of entering the war. The diplomats of the Allies have used every effort to induce her to join them. The best that the Germans have hoped has been to keep the peninsula nation neutral. After the capture of Przemysl Russia chose to try to penetrate Hungary rather than to follow the easier course of besieging Cracow, probably mainly because of the moral effect that the appearance of Russians in Hungary would have on Italy and Rumania, as well as on Austria and Hungary.

The collapse of the Russian Carpathian campaign is a big point for the Kaiser. Reports of Italy's intended belligerency are coming thicker and faster than ever as I write this, in the face of the rumor that Austria is ready to grant the bulk of Italy's demands; but, whether Italy enters the arena or not, there can be no doubt of the fact that both she and Rumania take the deepest interest in the fortunes of the Czar in the Carpathians.

THE FALL OF LIBAU

The capture of Libau is also good political capital for the Germans. The Petrograd despatches betray considerable uneasiness at the loss of this seaport, thirty-five miles from the East Prussian frontier. Libau was taken by a combined attack of a German army and part of the German Baltic fleet; and it will now afford a first-rate base for naval operations against Riga and other ports to the north. It may also be used by the Germans as a base for a land attack on the flank of the Russian army resting on the line of the Niemen River, with the Warsaw-Petrograd Railway as an objective beyond. Finally, if the Germans can gain control of the triangular wedge of territory north and east of Libau between that port and the Gulf of Riga, they will have a very fertile agricultural region upon which to draw in eking out their food supply.

It is worth noting that while this aggressive movement has been taking place along Germany's whole eastern battle line the Germans have continued to attack insistently in Flanders. This seems to dispose of the theory that for every offensive movement on the west Germany draws reinforcements from the east, and *vice versa*.

ZEPPELINS AND SUBMARINES

Reasonably successful as these latest German offensive movements have been, they were not sufficiently ambitious to indicate that she has abandoned the plan—which she was forced to accept months ago—of "sitting tight" and wearing out the Allies until they are content to leave her with what she has won. For the Allies the main hope of a victorious conclusion of the war in the near future lies in success at the Dardanelles or in the entrance of new nations into the conflict. Aside from the chance that the Allies will quarrel among themselves or drop out from sheer exhaustion, Germany's almost only hope of victory lies in her Zeppelins and submarines. On this point Mr. Arthur Bullard, who conducted the "Story of the War" in The Outlook before me, and who has been in France for several weeks, writes as follows:

"In fact, the chances are so heavy against the Germans that they are beginning to feel it themselves. They are very much less cocksure than they were a few weeks ago. I think their supreme hope is in their Zeppelins and submarines. I'm inclined to think that they can do much more damage than they have done yet. But I think that the next few months will see their maximum effort in this line. Their new super-submarines and super-Zeppelins are just coming into commission. I doubt very much if they can influence the outcome. However, I'll be surprised if they don't provide some surprise."

THE DARDANELLES

There was little news from the Dardanelles except that all efforts of the Turks to dislodge the landing parties of the Allies have been repulsed with great carnage. Moreover, details that have come in concerning the landing of the allied forces on the Gallipoli Peninsula indicate that the fighting on that occasion was as determined and as bloody as any yet chronicled in this bloodiest of all wars.

TIMEO DANAOS ET DONA FERENTES

Troy, which was impregnable to assault, fell before a ruse. The trick by which the British got their first landing party ashore at the Dardanelles, as reported by a correspondent of the Associated Press, calls to mind the famous stratagem of the wooden horse in whose belly the Greeks rode into Troy. A large collier was boarded by 2,500 Tommies, who crouched out of sight behind banks of coal. Just before sundown the collier was cast

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

adrift and allowed to bear down on the shoals near the European shore of the straits. The huge craft struck, and a boat-load of men, her crew, the Turks believed, were seen to row off toward the open sea. As it was growing dark, the Turks decided not to board the collier till the following morning. When they attempted to do so, what was their surprise to find 2,500 British soldiers strongly intrenched on the shore near the collier, covering the disembarkation of other troops from the British transports.

GERMANY AND THE GULFLIGHT

Germany's note of May 11 admitting full responsibility for any "mistakes" of hers resulting in damage to neutral ships indicates a considerable change in temper on her part. Although the Gulflight is not mentioned by name, the German note would seem to apply to her case and remove it as a present *casus belli*. At any rate, the change in Germany's tone is striking. Speaking of the responsibility for accidents which neutral vessels within the "war zone" about England might meet at German hands, the German Government said on February 18, "Germany disclaims all responsibility for such accidents and their consequences." But on May 11 the Kaiser's diplomats said: "Should a neutral ship nevertheless come to harm through German submarines or aircraft, on account of an unfortunate mistake, the German Government will unreservedly recognize its responsibility therefor."

New York City, May 12, 1915.

BILLY SUNDAY: AN IMPRESSION

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

WHEN I went to hear Billy Sunday, I did not expect to be favorably impressed. Now that I have heard him, I am for him.

This is to try to tell why he won me as he has won others.

I started with as open a mind as one can very well have on a widely and warmly debated subject. I was sure, from what I had heard, that he had influenced thousands of men to abandon vice, and especially drunkenness. On the other hand, judging from reports of some of the things he had said, I suspected that he had been uncharitable in his judgments and had influenced others to be uncharitable. From other reports I was inclined to believe that he was spreading abroad a belief in a vengeful kind of God, that he extolled unreason in religion, and that his preaching tended to make men irreverent. If the result of his preaching was to transform a man from a drunkard into a bigot, I did not believe that he was doing any good, for there is good authority in experience as well as in the New Testament for the conviction that the drunkard and the harlot are to be preferred to the bigoted and uncharitable. If he was depriving men of their capacity for reverence, I felt, too, that he was doing an injury. There is none too much reverence in America as it is, and without reverence there can be no religion. On the other hand, everybody I had talked with who had heard him was a witness on his side. Some were liberal, some conservative, and some not accustomed to thinking about religion at all; but I think, without exception, all were favorable. That fact seemed to me very significant. So I suspended judgment.

In order to hear Billy Sunday for myself I went to Paterson, New Jersey, where he is conducting one of his great "revivals."

The crowd around the big, tent-like, roughly built wooden tabernacle seemed to be without information about getting in. The numerous doors on each side of the tabernacle were closed. I was taking my chances with the general public, and I was told that the doors for the general public were at the extreme rear. Before those doors there was no crowd. I saw no advantage in waiting there. I joined a group and asked some questions. I was told how I could get the special privilege of a seat in front; but I preferred to take my chances with the crowd.

Newcomers with badges or tickets began to arrive and were admitted by a man who said, as one after another came up: "Blacksmith, all right. Hall & Dale, all right; go in;" and so on, announcing apparently the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

name of the delegation to which each newcomer belonged. "Blacksmith" meant a member of the Blacksmiths and Horseshoers' Union, who were attending in a body. Hall & Dale meant an employee of that firm.

By the time the doors were open all but a comparatively few seats in the rear were filled by these delegations.

It was a cheerful sight inside. It was not like a church service at all, but rather like a great convention. On invitation from the platform, one after another of these delegations stood up and sang a song or gave a cheer. One cheer that I remember was begun by a woman's high-pitched voice, and ran as follows: "Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Sunday, Sunday, Sunday, Sunday." The auditorium was swept by a wave of cheerful and contagious laughter and some applause. The man on the platform seemed to be on very good terms with the crowd. He handled them well. I was hopeless of hearing anything from where I sat, but when the time came for silence there was an absolute hush. Billy Sunday stood up and told the crowd that while he was talking he did not want any competition, and any one that wanted to talk could "beat it." That seemed perfectly reasonable, friendly, and firm. Nobody did "beat it," and consequently everybody was quiet. When, after the singing was over, Billy Sunday himself began to preach, he announced his text in regular fashion. It was these words from one of the Gospels: "As he was come nigh unto Jericho." And then came the surprise. Was this the Billy Sunday that I had heard about, full of slang? It surely was Billy Sunday, but it wasn't that Billy Sunday at all. He began by a reference to William Shakespeare, saying something like this: "If William Shakespeare, that master of dramatic composition, who" *et cetera, et cetera, et cetera* (these *et ceteras* represent a somewhat extended apostrophe to the "Bard of Avon"), "should come to the city, what a multitude of people would turn out to see him! If John Milton, that blind poet who could see into men's hearts," *et cetera, et cetera, et cetera* (another apostrophe), "should come to the city," *et cetera*. "If Napoleon Bonaparte, whom I regard as the greatest military genius of all centuries," *et cetera, et cetera, et cetera*: and so on with Christopher Wren, who tossed domes into the air, George Washington, whose characterization by Billy Sunday evoked patriotic applause, and a number of other worthies. To this apostrophical rhetoric the audience listened with surprising attention. I thought the days of such oratory had passed with Ingersoll, but here was one night of it, at any rate. And then Billy Sunday, after concluding this list, asked what would happen if Jesus Christ should come. More people, he said, would turn out to see him than to see any one else. They would come from all over the United States. Why? Then he began to compare Jesus Christ with Aristotle, Mohammed, Confucius, and Buddha. Each of these others he characterized by a word. "But," he said, "we cannot compress the names of Jesus Christ into one word. But do you think that the city would decorate itself for Jesus Christ? No," answered Billy Sunday, "I don't believe I would have to go out of the corporate limits of the city to find men blackhearted enough to cry, Crucify him . . . Men who lived like Herod lived, always worry when they hear Jesus is in town. Would the news that Jesus was in the city give you comfort and peace, or would it worry and trouble you? That you can answer yourself, and eternity will tell you no more about yourself than that." And then came some of Billy Sunday's slang. "Would you want him to find you in the saloon with a gang of rubbish? Where do you think he would go? He would go wherever there was anybody to help. But whose company would he find most congenial? He would find those most congenial who were trying to make the world better. Would he find you selling a yard of thirty-two inches or a ton of eighteen hundred pounds? Are you an editor and looking in the advertising list to see if it will offend Anheuser-Busch if you commend the evangelist? If Christ came, what changes would you make in your programme if you had twenty-four hours' notice? Change any date? Tear up any letters? Pay back any debt? Take anything out of the ice-box? Make any change in your prayer schedule? If Christ came—. But there is no If. Jesus was never out of Chicago. He was there before the fire—" and then he eloquently rehearsed Chicago history. "He was in New York before they paved the streets—" and he eloquently rehearsed New York's history. And so with San Francisco and Los Angeles and London. He concluded by saying that it is impossible for a man to face Christ and live a bad life.

Contrary wholly to my expectation, Billy

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sunday's appeal in this speech at least was not to the emotion, although there was emotion in it. It was to his hearers' reason, to the reason of the average, ordinary man. What Billy Sunday said and the way he said it made religion seem as reasonable as eating or sleeping or seeking amusement.

His actions on the platform have been characterized as antics. They did not impress me so at all. He is active at times to the highest degree. He gestures with his feet and his legs as well as with his hands; but it must be remembered that Billy Sunday, as I saw him away off in the distance, was a small figure among a multitude of human figures, and an ordinary gesture would not reach me at all. What would be ridiculous in a drawing-room seems to be almost necessary in such a place as that tabernacle. The actor on the stage who seems quiet and self-restrained would, if he struck the same attitudes in your home as a visitor, seem affected and exaggerated in his conduct. Billy Sunday in his talk often evoked a laugh, but it was not a laugh at him, but with him, and as often as not the laughter was not that of amusement so much as that of those who see a point.

Much has been said about Billy Sunday's slang, as if his whole sermon consisted of it. I have heard him only once, but I should say that fully one-half of his sermon was the very antithesis of slang. It was conventionalized oratory of the Ingersollian type. The ordinary citizen who is not well versed in history or literature was familiar with probably four-fifths of the names that Billy Sunday used, and the other names this average citizen probably was convinced that, although he didn't know them, his neighbor did. There was just enough of the mixture of the familiar and the unfamiliar to give the impression of considerable scholarship, without so much as to give the impression of being entirely over the heads of the audience. I should hardly think an eighth of the whole sermon consisted of passages in which there was slang. The rest of it was plain, vigorous, terse language that any writer or speaker might covet for himself. And the slang, when it was used, never struck me as being incongruous. When Billy Sunday talked about people or occasions or conditions that in ordinary life are associated with slang, he used slang. When he referred to the saloon, he characterized it in saloon language, and the man who frequents the saloon understood what he meant. When he described human failings, he described them in terms in which those human failings are commonly described. Once he put a vernacular phrase into the mouth of Christ, but the effect of that was sound, for it was done in such a way as to give his hearers the feeling that he was talking about a man who could be present with them just as truly as any one of their own companions; but it was a phrase that was entirely free from vulgarity. It did not in the least give the impression of irreverence; the impression that it did give was of an absolute faith in the reality and actuality of what Billy Sunday was talking about. Those who believe in a God and a Christ that are very far removed from men, in a sort of tinsel heaven, might object to such use of a colloquialism. But then they would object to any view, such as Billy Sunday's, of religion that identifies itself with the whole of life.

Much has been said of Billy Sunday's intolerant theology. There was very little sign of it in this sermon. It is evident that Billy Sunday is sure he believes in a verbally inspired Bible, in a localized hell, and in some other things that people who face the facts of the world in the light of modern science cannot possibly accept. But Billy Sunday's formal theology had, so far as I could see, no relation whatever to what he was saying. He made a casual derogatory reference to the "higher critics," but in the very same passage he indulged in a piece of higher criticism himself without calling it such. Toward the conclusion of his sermon he used some traditional theological phraseology; but it could have been left out of what he had said without changing the substance of the sermon in the least. Like a good many other people to-day, Billy Sunday's real theology and his formal theology are two separate things. The particular sermon that I heard from him could not have been preached forty or fifty years ago. In substance it might have been preached by Dr. Rainsford or Phillips Brooks. Any man who could have been made into a bigot by that sermon would have been a bigot in spite of Billy Sunday and not because of him.

After this experience, I am convinced that a very general popular impression of Billy Sunday is due to the exigencies of newspaper work. The newspaper reporter does not want to report long periods of Ingersollian rhetoric. But when Billy Sunday, in passing,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uses a picturesque bit of slang, that is grist to the reporter's mill. When Billy Sunday is talking simply and effectively and forcibly, there is nothing special to describe; but when he becomes emphatic with his feet as well as with his hands, the reporter sits up and takes notice. I do not believe the newspaper reporters have intended to misrepresent Billy Sunday, but they have misrepresented him by exaggerating his peculiarities. They have done what the cartoonist does with Mr. Roosevelt's teeth, with President Wilson's chin, and with Mr. Taft's expansive presence.

Billy Sunday is doing what the churches have not done—what they have probably not known very well how to do. He has gone out to the people, found them where they are, and delivered his message in terms they could understand. I do not believe the ordinary church has any better message than Billy Sunday has; and I do not believe that the ordinary church delivers it with the effectiveness of Billy Sunday. If that is so, and Billy Sunday is bringing people within the range of the Church's voice, I think he is doing well. Billy Sunday should be judged not by his theology but by his religion, not by his mannerisms but by the substance of his message, not by what one reads about him in the papers but by the effect he produces. The theology that shuts Billy Sunday's religion out may be technically a liberal theology, but it is narrower than Billy's; and, however uncharitable some of Billy Sunday's remarks may sound, those who are not willing to have him deliver his message are more uncharitable than he is charged with being.

As I say, I have heard him only once, but the one hearing is enough to make me sure that I am for him.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

A PAPER OF ANOTHER COLOR

ONE of the besetting sins of modern American life is very generally supposed to be "yellow journalism." Unfortunately, there is too much ground for the use of the adjective "yellow" in connection with a good many modern American dailies. On the other hand, the news sensationalism of the yellow press sometimes prevents the public from seeing or hearing of the quiet but effective and influential work of newspapers which are conducted on something besides a mere check-book basis. A recent visitor to a thriving city of central Michigan noticed a striking building on one of the main streets. It had the appearance of an attractive and unusually comfortable and well-appointed club-house or college building. On inquiry, he found it was the home of a daily evening newspaper.

The building, besides being a model in equipment, convenience, and light, and all that goes with an up-to-date newspaper plant, has an auditorium, primarily designed as a newsboys' hall, seating one thousand, a school-room, a music-room for the newsboys' band, a club-room, a lunch-room, baths, and a swimming-pool. A day school under the charge of a competent teacher is conducted in accordance with the best public school standards for the boys who are needed to handle early editions of the paper. The completely equipped school occupies one of the best-lighted front rooms in the building. The pupils are graduated from it directly into the high school. There are two newsboys' bands, junior and senior, the latter being fifty strong and having a reputation for playing good music, even of the concert type. Once a week a dancing and deportment class for newsboys and their friends meets, the girls being required to have proper adult escorts. Every Sunday evening a "happy hour" is held in the newsboys' hall. This is for the boys and their friends, and crowded houses are the rule. The editor and manager of the paper presides. The "hour" opens with a flag service, a feature which always arouses the enthusiasm of the boys. Then follows the speaker of the day, usually with a patriotic or get-on-in-the-world talk. This is followed with songs and recitations, and usually a number of the performers are the boys themselves. The programme closes with motion pictures of an educational character.

The kind of managerial atmosphere that can produce this sort of thing is found in the business office, in the editorial rooms, the composing-room, and even in the stereotyping foundry of the paper. As all newspaper

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men know, the stereotyping plant of a daily newspaper is usually a kind of inferno of heat and noise. In this newspaper building the stereotyping plant is on the second floor, with plenty of windows, so that it gets sunlight in winter and fresh air in summer.

This work for newsboys has been carried on for more than twenty years by this particular paper, although the present building and its plant are comparatively new. The manager does not speak of this work as philanthropy, but simply as good business. But it is good business in the sense that the owners seek to conduct the newspaper as a public service institution, and believe that its type of building and its interest in its newsboys serve to fix the newspaper as a public institution in the minds of the people.

Perhaps some Outlook readers, after reading these facts and seeing the photographs of the building which are reproduced on another page, will wonder whether such an expenditure can be made to pay in a city which has but one hundred and twenty-five thousand population. We are glad to reply that the paper has a proved circulation larger than any other newspaper of its class in the country, and is an unusually profitable business enterprise. It is not an experiment, but has been thoroughly tested by an experience of many years. It is a pleasure to introduce this newspaper to the readers of The Outlook as an example of commercially successful journalism carried on upon the principle of genuine public service. Its name is the "Evening Press," its editor and general manager is Mr. Edmund Booth, and it is published in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA

FOR months past reports have been coming to this country of the controversy between Japan and China which culminated during the first week of May in an ultimatum alleged to have been sent to China by Japan. Two somewhat conflicting versions of this ultimatum reached this country.

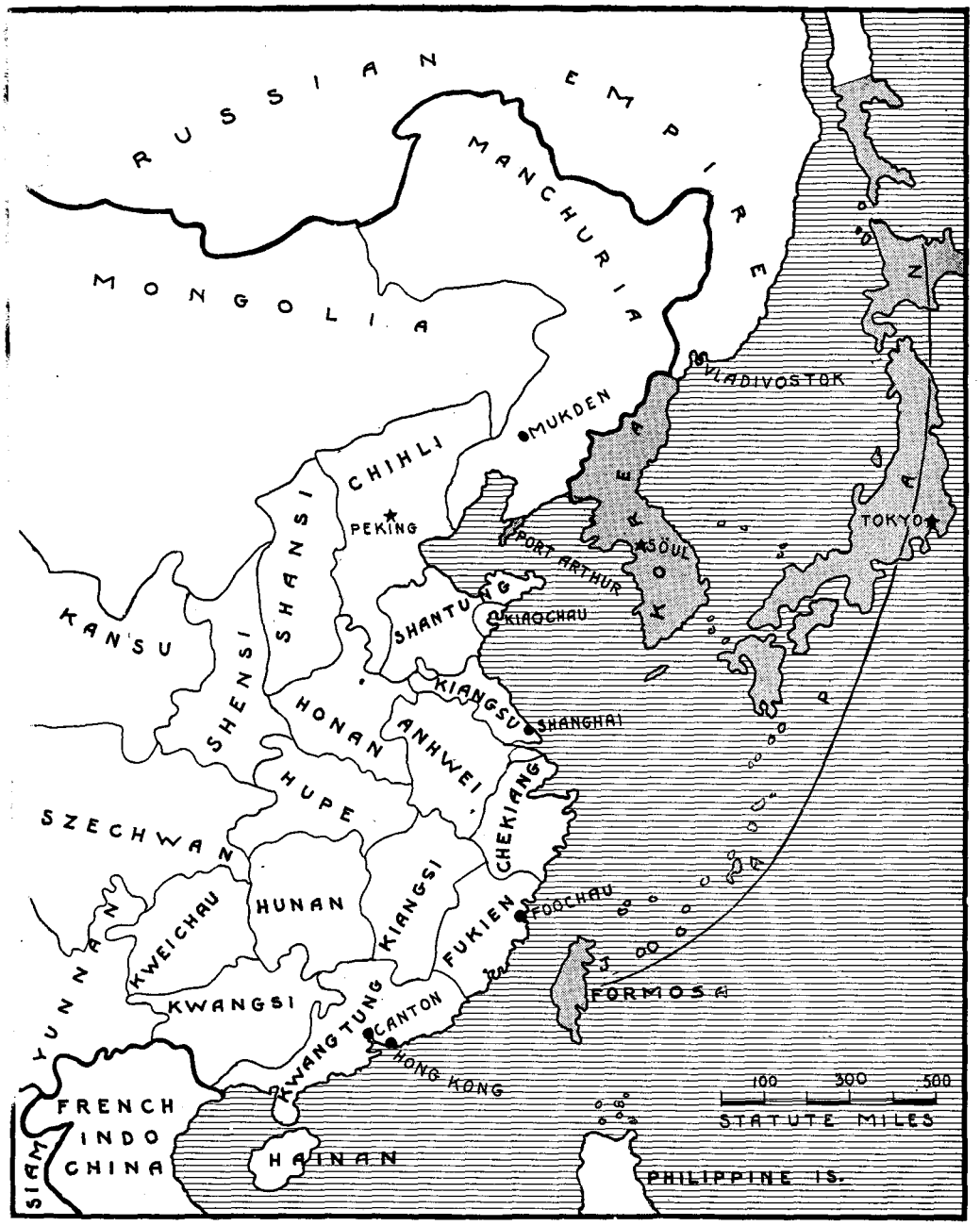
Some of the demands of Japan have seemed to The Outlook from the beginning to be reasonable. Some of the reported demands in the earlier version seem to us to be unreasonable and open to condemnation. As a result of further conference between China and Japan the unreasonable demands have been expunged from the treaty by Japan and the present form of the agreement is now satisfactory to both Governments, so that all danger of war has happily been averted. The Outlook has received through the Japanese Embassy at Washington a copy of the provision now agreed upon by the two Governments. We here report the main provisions of that treaty. On the editorial pages will be found a discussion of the principles involved and of the legitimacy of Japan's position. If the reader will consult the accompanying map in connection with the treaty, he will get a clear idea of the fact that the treaty is concerned chiefly, not with the Chinese Republic proper, but with territory over which China herself has had in recent years only a nominal control.

1. Japan asks and China agrees that Japan shall possess all the rights in the Province of Shantung possessed by Germany before Germany was expelled by Japan; that China shall not alienate any part of Shantung to any Western European Power; and that the principal cities of the province shall be open to the trade and residence of foreigners.

This is not an encroachment upon the rights of China. It is simply transferring to Japan rights which China previously conceded to Germany, and in addition establishes the principle of the open door in the Province of Shantung.

2. Japan asks and China concedes that the Japanese shall have in southern Manchuria all the rights previously given to Russia; that Japanese subjects shall be permitted to reside, travel, and do business in Manchuria; that Japan shall at least be consulted when China desires to secure from Western Powers capital for railway construction in southern Manchuria; that Japan shall be consulted before China engages advisers or instructors in politics, military affairs, or finance in southern Manchuria; and that the control of the Kirin-Changchun Railway be transferred to Japan for ninety-nine years. Japan agrees that Japanese subjects in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



EASTERN CHINA (MANCHURIA, PART OF MONGOLIA, AND THE EIGHTEEN PROVINCES, LYING BETWEEN SIAM AND FRENCH INDO-CHINA ON THE SOUTH AND RUSSIA ON THE NORTH)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Manchuria shall present passports to Chinese local authorities; and shall observe Chinese police laws and regulations; and shall pay Chinese authorities taxes when approved by the Japanese consuls. At present Japanese lawbreakers shall be tried before Japanese consuls and Chinese lawbreakers before a suitable Chinese official. When the judicial system is thoroughly reformed in southern Manchuria, Japanese and Chinese alike shall be tried by Chinese courts.

At the close of the war with Russia, Japan, which had taken southern Manchuria, including Port Arthur and Dairen or Dalny, took over the country under an unexpired lease which China had granted to Russia, and which has only a brief period of years still to run. This article provides, therefore, that Japan shall have in Manchuria substantially the rights which China had previously granted to Russia, and is in no sense a further aggression upon the territory of southern Manchuria.

3. In inner Mongolia Japan demands and China concedes that Japan shall be permitted to join with the Chinese in industrial enterprises; that China shall consult Japan before contracting railway or other loans with foreign Powers; and that the number of open marts or trading places shall be increased.

It should be remembered that Mongolia is not an integral part of the Chinese Republic. It is an outlying district partly under the domination of Russia, and Japan's entrance into Mongolia is in no wise a detriment to China, but is really a protection to her.

4. There is in China a great coal and iron mining corporation called the Han-Yeh-p'ing Company. Certain individual Japanese capitalists made a large loan to the revolutionists in China secured by an interest in this company. The Japanese Government now demands and China agrees that the Chinese Government established by the revolution shall approve the rights of the Japanese capitalists in this company and shall agree not to confiscate the property nor to nationalize it (that is to say, establish Government ownership over it), nor permit the company to contract any foreign loan other than Japanese.

This seems to us to be a reasonable financial proceeding similar to proceedings which might naturally be taken in analogous cases in western Europe or the United States.

5. The remaining demands of importance concern the Chinese coast, and especially the Province of Fukien. Japan expresses her satisfaction with the declaration of the Chinese Government not to alienate any more of her coastwise territory to foreign Powers. In this territory the Chinese Government agrees to employ Japanese advisers when foreign advice is deemed necessary; to permit Japanese subjects to build schools and hospitals; to purchase as far as possible armaments and munitions from Japan for the defense of this coast; and to send her military officers to Japan to consider the project of an arsenal in China under joint Chinese and Japanese management. China further agrees not to grant foreign railway concessions in southern China without consultation with Japan. Japan agrees to leave the question of Japanese Buddhist missions in this district open to further discussion, and withdraws her suggestion of a joint Chino-Japanese police force.

The provision of the treaty dealing with the coast of southern China is merely an application by Japan to China of the Monroe Doctrine, and as such should certainly be approved by Americans. There may be some danger in the enforcement of a Japanese Monroe Doctrine, just as there is in the enforcement of an American Monroe Doctrine. These dangers we discuss, however, in our editorial pages.

6. The Japanese Government demands and the Chinese Government concedes that China will not grant to any other Power the right to build ship-yards, coaling or naval stations, or any kind of military establishment on the coast of Fukien, nor will any such establishment be permitted to be built on that coast with any foreign capital.

A glance at the map will show that the coast of the Fukien Province is separated from the island of Formosa by only a channel. Formosa is now a part of the Japanese Empire, and Japan in self-defense could not permit any Western Power—Russia, for example, or Germany—to have a military and naval base so close to a vulnerable portion of her Empire. A portion of the American press was recently excited by reports of the establishment of a Japanese military base on the shores of Magdalena Bay in Mexico. Reasonable-minded Americans will be the first to concede that Japan has the same right to ask China not to grant a military base on her coast to a foreign Power that the United States has to protest against Mexico's granting a military base to Japan. The agreement outlined above has been signed by both China and Japan.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHY MEXICO IS A THORN IN OUR SIDE

THIRD ARTICLE: WHAT MEXICANS HAVE ENDURED

BY CASPAR WHITNEY

The readers who have followed Mr. Whitney's exposition of the plight of Americans in Mexico, and of the question whether American business men in Mexico have any rights, will find below a still more graphic picture of the injury done to Mexicans themselves by anarchy and by our own foolish policy of "watchful meddling." This was to have been the concluding article of the series, but it will be followed by a fourth, which will describe "The Leaders of Anarchy in Mexico."—THE EDITORS.

AND what is the result of our diplomatic welfare work? We know what, at least partially, it has cost America in prestige, pillage, and murder; but what has this policy done for the Mexican, the "submerged eighty per cent" for whose uplift it was evolved? Is their condition improved; are they grateful for our "help"? What do you think when I tell you that since we removed fear of intervention from the lawless, the lowly class has had the bitterest experience in its history; its women have been ravished, its homes robbed and burned, its shops looted, its horses, cows, sheep, and goats stolen, and its wages stopped through the closing of foreign industries? After seven months' travel over the country from the border to the Isthmus (Tehuantepec), from the Gulf to the mountains, I am prepared to say that never have the people of Mexico endured such devastation of land and dire personal suffering as since their great neighbor undertook to succor them through the devious, not to say mysterious, channels of "diplomatic welfare work."

In the ever-recurring manifestoes you read in the newspapers from Villa or Zapata or Gutierrez or Carranza the talk is always of "exterminating the enemy"—*i. e.*, one another; but always the nether stone in the conflict among them and the invariable sufferer is the submerged eighty per cent, they for whose "freedom" and prosperity these countrymen of theirs pretend to be fighting! They get no benefit from the wholesale robbery which is called "confiscation." It is the chiefs and the officers and the *jefes* who live in confiscated houses, ride in confiscated automobiles, eat confiscated beef, enjoy the revenues of confiscated factories, railways, breweries, etc., and have the choice of the girls who have not fled the town they capture. Yes, indeed, the "spiritual union" is doing fine work among the lowly class of this "delicate, sensitive race" whose "courage, dignity, and self-possession" is seen to its best advantage in this Constitutionalist riot, by the wanton destruction of property and the abuse of women!

There was great rejoicing in Mexico when the Carranza troops, turning tail to the oncoming Zapatistas, evacuated the city; and a renewal of the celebration when the Villa army came in from the north. A week later the combined forces paraded the streets, thirty thousand strong, for the comfort and admiration of the tormented residents.

When I entered my room at the University Club on the evening of that day, the *criada* (housemaid), who was just closing the shutters, was all excitement over the greatest parade Mexico had ever seen, and voiced her own relief at the coming of Villa and deliverance from Carranza, whose career in the city had earned him the fear and dislike of all, master and servant. In almost the attitude of a suppliant she asked me if Carranza would return to the city; if the Americans would "give him money to come back." And when I told her that the American Government had neither thought nor intention of bringing Carranza back to the city, and that the American people wished to help, not Carranza or Villa or Zapata, but her, and José, and Manuel, and the other servants in the Club, and their brothers and sisters and friends in Mexico; that everything the Americans did was done with that desire and purpose in mind, she cried, clasping her hands as if indeed in entreaty: "*Ojala que manden inteligentes para informarles!*" (Oh, may it be that they send intelligent men to inform them!) This was the prayer of even one of the lowliest, confused by our conduct and alive to the mischief of our misdirected if well-intentioned course.

When, in March, 1911, seven Americans

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were killed and eleven wounded in Douglas, Arizona, directly opposite Agua Prieta, Mexico, by the Maderista Red Lopez, during an attack on the latter town, and despite the presence and the orders of the United States troops to Lopez to fall back or change the angle of his fire, all Mexico held its breath while it speculated on the nature of the reprisal which none doubted was sure to come. Never had American life or property been destroyed without instant demand for and the collection of full indemnity; but to destroy life under the very eyes of United States soldiers appeared quite the most serious situation that had yet arisen between the two Governments; and all Mexico waited—as did the Americans in Mexico.

Other than a warning to the Mexicans that they were not to repeat the "accident," no action was taken by the United States Government.

In America, by a certain kind of men and women, this inaction by then President Taft was hailed as "patience;" in Mexico it was accepted as license, and on that day Mexicans began to suspect that they might treat Americans as they did their own people—a suspicion that became a conviction after more and more similar "accidents" along the border brought only more and more similar warnings. It was an interesting and an important discovery for the Mexicans. Hitherto American life and property had been respected by the revolutionists, but after the Douglas incident both were repeatedly threatened, and, in instances, destroyed, and America rapidly lost prestige and Americans the immunity from attack which they had formerly enjoyed, because of the many depredations that went unpunished.

It was not too late when the present Administration came into power to regain the lessened prestige for the United States and restore immunity for its citizens; and President Wilson began well by increasing the number of troops on the border, but nullified the otherwise salutary effect of the act by promptly disclaiming all intent of intervention; while the State Department went on its contented way, issuing warnings and occasional "severe" notes in response to the anti-American outrages occurring throughout Mexico, for which the revolutionary leaders ceased to feel any responsibility after the Americans had been advised by their President to leave Mexico. Indeed, the leaders openly said that this official advice relieved them of all sense of responsibility concerning Americans!

The President refused to recognize Huerta, wisely and justly; not that he was actively concerned in the murder of Madero and Suarez, though as head of the *de facto* Government he was culpable, and certainly close enough to those who were directly responsible—Felix Diaz, General Mondragon, Rodolfo Reyes; but (1) because the resignations of Madero and Suarez were obtained under duress, and were therefore not legal; and (2) because the United States is a party to an agreement (the Treaty of Washington, 1905) with certain Latin-American states that no government shall be recognized which has been raised through armed revolt.

Thus Mr. Wilson was clearly within the legal rights, and not acting on mere prejudice of his own, as has been said by those who believed that our Government had no right to "preach morals" and should have accepted Huerta.

It was one thing, however, not to recognize Huerta, and quite another to demand and to plot his retirement, as President Wilson forthwith set out to do.

That was where the President interfered (despite his speech at Indianapolis, January 8, 1915) and plumped Uncle Sam's foot right into the middle of the mix-up as he proceeded to put the plural in ultimatum and institute his dazzling new course in diplomatic welfare work.

Incongruous as it may sound to us, you hear in Mexico that President Wilson is "the friend of revolution," and that he is directing the movements of the United States, as I have said, with a view to the absorption of Mexico when she has exhausted herself. Certainly this is strange talk to our ears; but here are some of the reasons the Mexicans offer for their belief:

Instead of extending the good offices of our powerful friendship to the Diaz Government—which had given thirty years of peace and prosperity, the only extended period of peace the country had ever known—with a view to suggesting a remedy for some of its defects, we practically sided with Madero in his revolt, allowing open disregard of the neutrality laws all along our border, and the constant flow of arms and ammunition into Mexico to be used against a friendly government.

When Orozco rebelled against Madero, we put an embargo on arms, and thus helped Madero a second time. Then we lifted it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for Carranza, who was fighting Huerta. In April, 1914, we seized Vera Cruz at the cost of a score of Americans and two hundred Mexicans to prevent a steamer, the Ypiranga, from landing a load of arms for Huerta; and a month later allowed the same steamer to land the same load of arms at Puerto Mexico—another port farther south on the same coast—for the same Huerta, who promptly distributed a part of the shipment among his soldiers a few miles in front of the American outposts at Vera Cruz. Then we placed an embargo against Carranza, First Chief of the Constitutionalists, who was still fighting Huerta; and subsequently we lifted this embargo that Villa might make war on Carranza. And when Carranza fled from Mexico City before the advance of Villa, after demonstrating his utter unfitness to cope with the situation, and Mexico was further from a settled condition than at any time since Madero, the United States evacuated Vera Cruz, thus giving life to Carranza and the most important port of Mexico to his party, which had been looting and terrorizing the country. On September 8, 1914, the President of the United States lifted the embargo, thus giving Villa arms with which to fight Carranza.

And the same President who had said a year before at Mobile—

> What these States [Mexican] are going to see, therefore, is an emancipation from the insubordination which has been inevitable to foreign enterprise, and an assertion of the splendid character they have again and again been able to demonstrate. . . .
>
> The dignity, the courage, the self-possession, the self-respect, of the Latin-American states, their achievements in the face of all these adverse circumstances, deserve nothing but the admiration of the world.

—said also in a public speech at Indianapolis on January 8, 1915:

> Have not European nations taken as long as they wanted and spilled as much blood as they pleased in settling their affairs, and shall we deny that to Mexico because she is weak?

When the United States took upon itself the regulation of Huerta, it took an uninvited part in the internal affairs of Mexico. Furthermore, it entered upon a positive campaign for his downfall—a campaign which, according to the newspaper despatches at the time, included an offer by the President's personal representative, John Lind, to obtain money in the United States for the official needs of the Huerta party if they would eliminate their chief, an offer which was declined by Huerta's Secretary of Foreign Relations, Federico Gamboa, in an ironic note of reply, and made the occasion of much jeering in the local press at American statesmanship.

Mexicans very naturally felt that, having thus intruded, the Americans would not relinquish their active oversight until the government to which they, not the Mexicans, objected was replaced by one acceptable and stable. This feeling was nourished by the landing of a United States army at Vera Cruz in the campaign against Huerta, who stood for the only going government Mexico had, and became a conviction as the United States remained at the port months after Huerta had quit the government and left Mexico.

When, therefore, the United States army evacuated Vera Cruz in the midst of Mexico's most troublous period, leaving the land at the mercy of the unconstitutional Constitutionalists, the people were hopelessly perplexed and bitterly aggrieved. Why, they asked, was Huerta interfered with in the first instance if there was no intention to negotiate an acceptable successor? If the army was sent to Vera Cruz merely as part of the campaign against Huerta, why had it remained at that port months after he had left the country? And, if it continued at Vera Cruz with a view to influence the establishment of a stable government, why did it desert them when stability appeared further away than ever, and so leave them to the most anarchistic conditions Mexico has ever known?

These are questions which neither President Wilson nor any of his interpreters has answered, and they are not easy to answer. But the facts are that we went to Vera Cruz when Mexico had a kind of government, and by our going unquestionably brought about the early downfall of that government, endangering the lives and the property of our citizens in the process; then, with the country governmentless and in tumult, we left.

By contrast, it is refreshing to read what President Polk said in his Message to Congress in 1847 on another occasion when the soldiers of the United States entered Mexico:

> Then we shall have exhausted all honorable means in pursuit of peace and must continue to occupy her country with our troops. . . . To act otherwise, in the existing state of things in Mexico, and to withdraw our army without a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peace, would not only leave all the wrongs of which we complain unredressed, but would be the signal for new and fierce civil dissensions and new revolutions—all alike hostile to peaceful relations with the United States.

If it was right to land in April, 1914, it was proper to stay; if it was not proper to stay, it was not right to land, for the professed objects of the expedition were not achieved: the arms from the Ypiranga were landed; no salute of the flag was ever made.

And by way of corroborating what I have said about the restraining hand we held and how the Mexicans view its withdrawal, I introduce excerpts literally translated from a couple of manifestoes made public in Mexico City during the discussion over the presence of the United States troops at Vera Cruz.

The first is to General Eulalio Gutierrez, Provisional President, from Colonel G. Calzada, a supporter of the Carranza faction, published in "El Liberal" under date of November 14, 1914:

To Citizens in Arms, Eulalio Gutierrez, Aguas Calientes:

I am informed by the press that the invaders [the Americans at Vera Cruz] are to leave the country within a few moments, and from the same source I learn that you, backed by the Division of the North [Villa], will attack, perhaps before this happens, the defenders of legality who proclaimed and will sustain to the end, if possible, the Plan of Guadalupe.

I make a solemn call upon you, and on those who have with you resolved to bloody anew the soil of the Republic, to suspend your operations only for the time indispensable to allow the evacuation of the port of Vera Cruz by the North Americans; . . . thereafter we shall run the chances that destiny marks out for us. The "Citizen in Arms," GABRIEL CALZADA, salutes you kindly.

The second is from a letter under date of November 13, 1914, from Candido Aguilar, the Carranza Governor of the State of Vera Cruz, to General Gutierrez:

General Funston tells me that he has received orders from Wilson to be ready for evacuation with all his troops. . . . In view of this notice, which should fill all Mexicans with great satisfaction, since we shall soon completely recover our national sovereignty, I call upon you, in the name of patriotism, decorum, and your character as a Mexican, not to fire a shot between us until the port of Vera Cruz is vacated by the foreign troops.

I hope that you and your companions, putting aside, in these solemn moments for our national dignity, political passions and haste, with serenity, and, more than anything else, with true patriotism, will wait until our port of Vera Cruz is vacated by the American soldiers. It is most important that we give not the slightest pretext on which the friends of intervention . . . may work against the evacuation under the pretense . . . that Mexicans cannot agree among themselves. Thereafter we shall see; he who has right and justice on his side will finally triumph. Signed, CANDIDO AGUILAR, "The Governor and Military Commander of the State."

And after the American troops had sailed the lid was raised and Mexico developed its original contending factions into the seven!

Of the about fifteen million native inhabitants of Mexico probably twelve millions are Indians, separated in speech, habit, and distance. They are docile but illiterate, and their very docility makes them the easier victims of the unscrupulous disciples of personalism, who sway them with equal facility in and out of revolutions. Individually they are the best people of the *tierra* land—the best workers, the most faithful servants, the most frequently loyal among Mexican friends.

But how can these, who through centuries have known no authority save that coming through military power, be expected to assume the responsibilities of democracy? How can they without preparation qualify for self-government? To force it upon them would be to turn the country over to the factional leaders for division and further abasement; to render the country impossible for the minority class of educated responsibles, and barren of hope for the lowly class.

On the subject of constitutional government hear what Woodrow Wilson said before he became President: "Self-government is not a thing that can be 'given' to any people, because it is a form of character and not a form of government. No people can be given the self-control of maturity. Only a long apprenticeship of obedience can secure them its precious possession."

Yet these illiterate Indians, potentially the best of the mass in Mexico, should be fitted for suffrage as rapidly as they can be led. The two best men, the only really big men Mexico has thus far produced, Benito Juarez and Porfirio Diaz, were of Indian stock.

In the United States are surely two, and probably three, Southern States where the illiterate blacks outnumber the whites, and on that account are denied equal political rights, as they should be until in some degree they qualify to exercise them. To seek to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

put upon Mexico what we do not permit in sections of corresponding literacy of our own country is hardly consistent, to say the least of it.

If you will pick up Volume V of Woodrow Wilson's "A History of the American People" and turn to page 49 in the chapter on "Reconstruction," you will find set forth a condition similar to that which exists in Mexico to-day so far as relates to disturbing natural conditions by setting the bottom on top; and you will also become acquainted with Mr. Wilson's opinion of such attempts at the time he was President of Princeton:

> But the affairs of their own villages and countrysides they [the whites] saw corrupted, mismanaged, made base use of under their very eyes. There the Negroes themselves were the office-holders, men who knew none of the uses of authority except its insolence. It was there that the policy of the Congressional leaders wrought its perfect work of fear, demoralization, disgust, and social revolution.
>
> No one who thought justly or tolerantly could think that this veritable overthrow of civilization in the South had been foreseen; . . . they [the leaders] would take counsel of moderation neither from Northern men nor from Southern. They were proof against both fact and reason in their determination "to put the white South under the heel of the black South."
>
> They did not know the region with which they were dealing. Northern men who did know it tried to inform them of its character and of the danger and folly of what they were undertaking; but they refused to be informed, did not care to know, were in any case fixed upon the accomplishment of a single object. Their colleagues, their followers, kept, many of them, a cooler mind, a more prudent way of thought, but could not withstand them. They too were ignorant of the South.

Schooling, training, will adjust these conditions in Mexico, as it is doing in certain of our Southern United States. But in Mexico, where the responsible class is so overwhelmingly in the minority, it is only the strong-armed dictator-president who can hold the country long enough in peace to give the people a chance to advance. Mexicans have never shown any capacity for harmony or improvement except when so dominated by a forceful leader. This is why a strong, central government—a dictator, if she is unaided—is a necessity for Mexico at her present state of enlightenment.

And the process of making and unmaking the dictator is simple and often just, as Mexico has pursued her way. The small directing class under the dictator grows powerful and corrupt after a time, as it did to the undoing of Porfirio Diaz; then arises a champion of the people who wins his way by revolution, and later does his best, or his worst, according to his fiber and the number of factions in his immediate wake. When tyranny and corruption again grow intolerable, again a self-nominated champion of *el pueblo* arises; again there is revolution, followed by anarchy which lasts until the champion has beaten off the other leaders and is able to impress his will upon all; then he is "elected" President. Such is the origin of the personalism in Mexican politics; all classes look to a person; it is the individual who triumphs in Mexico, not the law.

So Mexico remains, must remain for many years to come unless given powerful constructive help, within the fatal cycle—revolution, anarchy, dictator—repeated again and again, until the leaven of education and of political experience has equipped the people to take command of their own government, which now is, and has to be, a military government, because the present problem is more social than political, and the Mexicans are not easily handled. The pitiful fact is that here in Mexico is a budding middle class of inordinate pride and vanity, small ambition, and slight efficiency apart from that with the hands—which is very considerable. From this comes the very peculiar and irrational Socialism with which the country is burdened, and which it must shake itself clear of or control before progress on a substantial basis can be made. The stronger and more benevolent the dictator-president, the longer separated will be the revolutions, and the more rapid that progress. Meantime, if ever Mexicans are to succeed to self-government, the responsible minority must rule while the great mass attends on education; otherwise there will be just what we see to-day, increasing anarchy. Mexico is a nation in the making, and revolutions in her untutored, unguided course have been the one obtainable method; some gain is made in each one, and that gain is greatest when the dictator is strongest and the people are enabled to settle down to schooling and industry.

Many think of Mexico as having no schools, which is quite wrong. Schools are, in fact, very generally distributed throughout the country; many a little settlement I rode through from the State of Chihuahua to Oaxaca, to my surprise, had its buzzing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

school-house—for they cling to the old-fashioned practice of class-reciting in unison. So that, thanks to Porfirio Diaz, education is at least well under way. There are, or rather there were before the Constitutionalists began fighting for "the uplift of the Mexican people," about twelve thousand Government schools in Mexico, having a daily attendance approximating three-quarters of a million boys and girls. Now most of these schools are closed. But, while great progress has been made in the last twenty years, the school system is faulty and the instruction rather more of the *cultura* than of the practical training variety, and not best suited to the needs of the people.

The present period in Mexico is constantly referred to in America as "abnormal." Except that it is more anarchistic than usual, there is nothing abnormal about it. Mexican history duplicates the present situation repeatedly. It began in 1810 with the first ringing of the liberty bell by Father Miguel Hidalgo at Dolores, and, except for the Porfirio Diaz administration, ever since it has continued almost without cessation—barring a few years of Juarez.

Madero sought to establish the abnormal condition, and it cost him his life. His people were not ready for it; it was beyond their comprehension. The country could not understand and therefore co-operate.

The looting, the destruction, the forced loans, the raping of women, in which all the factions in Mexico have indulged—Carranza's the most—is by no means a novelty in Mexican annals.

Hidalgo appropriated three hundred thousand pesos of the state money when he made the first stroke at the yoke of Spain; and the Juarez soldiers violated nuns where they found them.

It is all but a part of the cycle of revolution, anarchy, dictator, which will persist unless a helping hand is given them, until through education, which cannot be forced or too much hurried, capability for more complete self-government is created; and when that time comes they'll get it.

Meanwhile, the most serious aspect of the immediate outlook is presented by an entire generation, which grew up under Porfirio Diaz in the ways of peace, quickly returning to the pristine state of its fathers, and content, in the new, easy life, with its chance to loot, a chance to strut, and just enough of fighting to stir the blood.

Those who do not know Mexico wonder at the inaction of the educated, property-owning class under this reign of lawlessness. An editorial in the New York "Times" concretely expresses the idea in the following sentence:

> The marvel about Mexico, therefore, is that the large number of really enlightened citizens of a nation which might be among the most prosperous and influential in the world should submit to more than four years of disorder and lawlessness.

That is best answered by a story out of my own experience.

I was walking along the crowded Avenida 16 de Septiembre in the City of Mexico with one of these "enlightened citizens"—one of the very best type of Mexicans, indeed, well born, well educated, a most agreeable companion, and a man who had taken no part in politics. I had seen much of him during my sojourn in the city, had talked long with him upon the various problems of his disrupted country.

We were on our way to join a considerable company at luncheon, and, as usual whenever alone, were deep in discussing what is a constant theme in his class, the responsibility of the United States for the present distracted condition of Mexico. "But," said I, breaking in on his recital of the confiscation of a friend's property by the looting Carranzistas, "why do you stand for it? Why do you and men of your class, who are of the best blood and brains in the country, allow yourselves to be robbed and ruled and ruined by this lawless mob and make no effort at defense, not so much as to open your mouths in protest? I cannot understand it. Will you tell me frankly, my dear Don, why you and your kind do not get together and stop this overturning of your civilization, this wrecking of yourselves and your country?"

The gentle-voiced Don stopped short at my query, and, putting his arm around my shoulders, drew me close as he all but whispered, "Because we do not trust one another!"

There you have the story of Mexico; largely the reason Madero failed, as fail he did; why Mexico to-day is deranged by the armed men of a half-dozen irreconcilable factions and anarchy reigns; why the fatal cycle must go on turning until, out of distrust, inertia, discordance, the educational blast-furnace has smelted confidence, efficiency, cohesion.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"AND YE GAVE ME A STONE"

BY PAULA JAKOBI

SCENE: *A church. Pastor in the pulpit. Speakers seated on side seats at right angles to the pulpit.*

Pastor. Friends: I have called this meeting to give us an opportunity to hear some of the unemployed tell the cause of their present situation and what, in their opinion, is the remedy. You know we have held frequent Sunday evening meetings in this church, and have tried to face the unemployment problem from every angle. We have come to no conclusion as to the remedy. Perhaps to-night may help us to see what can be done. I will not designate the speakers by name, but will call upon them according to the number they have drawn. Will the first speaker please come to the platform?

Boy. Dis is my foist time on de platform, but I guess I can tell you what I wantta. I got money in my pocket. Never mind how I got it.

Voices from the house. Put 'im out! 'E's a thief.

(*Man in the body of the house rises.*) Doctor, how old is the speaker?

Boy (*quickly interposing*). Nineteen.

Man. I thought the meeting was to be addressed by men.

Boy (*vehemently thrusting his head forward*). What's my age gotta do with it? The fact that I'm only nineteen doesn't prevent my having a stomach, and it pains me just as much as it does the man of twenty-eight when I'm hungry. I tell you a thing or two. I've looked for work and haven't found it. When I die, it won't be from starvation, nor I won't beg on the bread line. But I can get money and get it in my own way, and I've got some in my pocket right now. I may be only nineteen, but I worked since I was ten and I know what work is.

Pastor. Speaker No. 2.

(*A pale boy with a white muffler around his neck mounts platform.*) I haf looked for work all over. I tried hard to get it. My parents are sick. I haf supported them, and now I can find no work. If there is any one here who wants a job done, I will do it. I will be faithful to any boss who will give me work.

Pastor. No. 3.

No. 3 (*hardly waiting to jostle No. 2 from platform*). I won't be faithful to any boss. *I* haven't come here to whine for a job. It's my right to have one. I've tried to get work, and now I won't work. I hate every one o' you that's here to-night lookin' at me. *You* think we're a show—that you're the audience and we the actors; but you'll have another guess coming to you when we get things into our hands and *we* give out the jobs to *you*. When we have had a fight—a worse one than they are fighting over there; when our bellies will be full and yours will be empty; when you'll be *begging to us*, and we'll tell you to go and stand on the bread line, or roll bandages, or go to the Municipal Lodging-House, or eat of the stinking victuals sent down by the hotels.

Voices. Put him out! Put him out!

No. 3 (*continuing*). I don't believe there is a God. I believed in him once, but I don't believe in a God who'd let men starve and suffer.

Voices. Say, that's too strong! Put 'im out!

Minister (*rising, holds up his hand*). Every man shall have his five minutes to say what he believes. Let there be no interruptions.

No. 3. Well, you get a fair deal here, anyway. I looked fer a long time to get a job after I had lost mine through being sick two weeks. I couldn't find one, but something good came of it. I got time to think about things and to read. When I was working, I was too tired to read or to think, but now I have time to go to meetings, and I found out soon that we, the working class, are exploited—that we work so that you can eat—and now I'm out to help overturn the whole rotten system.

A gray-haired man in the body of the house. Turn 'im out! Turn 'im out!

Another voice. Say, *you*, go up to the platform and say what you gotta say.

Pastor (*to gray-haired man*). Won't you come and address the meeting from the platform?

(*An usher approaches the man and whispers to him. With a resolute gesture the man goes forward. He mounts the platform and takes off his overcoat.*) I am seventy years old. I am a carpenter by trade. This winter there was no work. I went to some of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the emergency workshops, and I was given the food sent there by the 'otels, and it was good food. It was no stench to the nostrils. And then I worked at another station for fifty cents for five hours, and there the ladies waited on me at table. And they were as nice and polite to me as could be. And every evening when we were through work the minister gave us an apple or a banana. They were very good to us. . . . I never thought I'd live to see the day when honest workingmen would 'ave to listen to people advocating the breaking of the laws because they claim to be out of a job.

Pastor. No. 4.

(*An I. W. W. leader mounts the platform with outstretched hand to the minister.*) You'll be one of us soon, Doctor, for after having meetings such as this your rich parishioners will not let you keep your job. And you (*turns to the audience*) you will bring on your own heads your annihilation through your ignorance and lethargy. Once there was a French Revolution. There'll be another Revolution, and it won't be French. The unemployed man and woman are in the process of disintegration. Make no mistake, the day is coming when we will collect the dues and you will pay the bills. You are made of the same stuff as we are. You have stood long enough between me and the fruit of my work, and I am on the war-path and somebody is going to get hurt, and it won't be me.

Pastor. No. 5.

(*Woman goes forward.*) You very seldom find a woman in the ranks of the unemployed. She can usually find something to do. . . . I used to be a teacher. Then I married, and had to give up the position. After a few years my husband's health broke ; then when he became discouraged he took to drink. He used to drink the money from the children's clothes that he'd pawn. I couldn't get anything regular to do. I wasn't strong enough. I was worn to a frazzle, just fit for the scrap-heap. I didn't want to leave my husband and have the Charity Organization Society separate us and rehabilitate us. We haven't had enough to eat, we've been cold, and now I'm worn out and don't know what to do.

Pastor. No. 6.

No. 6. I was in Philadelphia the early part of this winter. I had been laid up with rheumatism. We were down to our last crust. My wife went to the emergency shop and got sewing. She received seventy-five cents a day and a meal. A little later, during the same week, I received a postal. It read: "If you do not report at the following address, the woman in your house will receive no more sewing." I pulled myself together. I got up and limped to the address—a public square in town. They set me at gathering leaves. I felt better after my day's job. I was on the job all that month. My wife was laid off, and stayed home with the children. The emergency shop tried to get my boss to take me back, but he said work was too slack and he couldn't. They put free ads about us men in the papers, but all the positions seemed overstocked. Then my cousin in New York wrote that he'd give me a position in his store, and I came. Things grew worse and worse with him, until he had to lay me off, and I've had nothing since.

Pastor. No. 7.

Man. Unemployment means to me the greatest sickness for a strong man. If you'll do a small part of necessary thinking, you'll see that the war in Europe is the result of unemployment. We are suffering to-day through your complacent ignorance ; you can go to your comfortable homes and quiet your consciences with a bundle day. Here is an item from a newspaper (*reads*) : "Mrs. John Jacob Astor spent all day at the bundle shop directing the packing of bundles. She wore a black broadcloth suit, fur trimmed." What do you think of that ? I tell you, we have been driven too hard. We haven't a moment for life, for thought, for companionship. I tell you, fellowship is life, no fellowship is hell. What are you going to do about it ? What *are* you going to do about it ?

(*From the street sounds of music reach the church.*)

Pastor. No. 8. (*Pause. He repeats.*) No. 8.

(*The music grows more distinct. A woman rises in the body of the house.*)

Pastor. Miss Sherman, will you please come to the platform ?

Miss Sherman (*in a hushed voice*). I am the secretary of the church. The man who drew No. 8 applied here last week for work. There was none. I spoke to him, and was deeply impressed by him and invited him to come to the meeting to tell his story. He was to let me know whether he could come. As there was no word from him, I went to his house. In the hallway two women were

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whispering together; farther down the hall there were two policemen. I questioned them. The man was dead. He had inhaled gas the night before.

(*Pause. Now the blare of a cornet can be distinguished. It is the "Marseillaise." And there is a tramping of feet.*)

Pastor (*rising*). We all feel the need for some action, but we all feel our helplessness. I would like to invite suggestions as to the best way to meet the situation. (*Silence.*) If there are no suggestions, the meeting is—

(*The I. W. W. leader rises with an impassioned, despairing gesture and walks toward the door. At the door he pauses, turns, and raises his hand.*) It's you that must come with me, comrades. There is no use your wasting your time here. It's only what they're giving us all along the line—talk, talk, and nothing doing. (*Bending forward.*) It's your right to demand from the government of the city of New York the opportunity to be self-supporting and freed from the ignominy of public or private charity by the establishment of works in which the whole city benefits which will involve the employment at a living wage of every qualified applicant. But you're not getting there. Do you hear that music outside? It's our comrades. They're out for freedom. I'm hard set to see the way before me, but, at any rate, it is better than this. Come along!

(*In a moment the church is in commotion. Excited men and women are leaving their seats and eagerly following their leader. Without a backward look, they rush out of the church after him. Agitated, perturbed, some stragglers follow.*)

"The meeting is adjourned," murmurs the pastor to the empty benches.

THE NEW BOOKS

Prescriptions. By Richard C. Cabot. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 50c.

This little book, made up of selections from Dr. Cabot's invaluable "What Men Live By," is like an old-fashioned box of medicine, except that it may be used without danger by men and women who have any disease, or who are in perfect health. This is not a book of rules about work, play, love, and worship, but a group of inspirations and invigorations; a quite invaluable handbook in wholesome, open-eyed, and fine living.

Still Jim. By Honoré Willsie. The F. A. Stokes Company, New York. $1.35.

This novel is a notable advance on Mrs. Willsie's former fiction work. It is distinctly vigorous and its characters have life and reality. It deals largely with the Government Reclamation Service in the Far West, and one feels that the author knows intimately both the engineering problems and the human problems involved. Still Jim is a stalwart example of New England pluck, persistency, efficiency, and determination. In him is typified the old-time strain of Anglo-Saxon grit and honesty which (as the author looks at it) is struggling to hold its own against the flood of ill-digested and ill-regulated immigration, and in spite of a decreasing birth rate among native Americans of the old stock.

Apart from any race question there are sturdy examples and fine ideals in "Still Jim"—whether we use the name for the character or the story as a whole. There are also exciting incidents and strong situations.

Alice and a Family. By St. John G. Ervine. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.

Alice is a child worth knowing. A product of London's lower working class, she is sharp as a needle, active as a bee, jolly as a sandpiper, and eminently efficient as a manager. She practically adopts the "Family," consisting of a hapless and helpless newly made widower, his motherless baby, his well-meaning but not too clever boy, and two or three other children. Everybody in the family except the baby is put to work, damages are collected for an industrial injury to the father, a newspaper shop is rented, everything and everybody is made to hustle until prosperity in moderation dawns upon Alice's efforts, and as a final piece of strategy she marries her own mother to the widower so that she (Alice, that is) may have only one family to manage instead of two.

There is fun in the story, its local color is evidently true, and it is as clever as it is entertaining.

Marriage by Conquest. By Warwick Deeping. McBride, Nast & Co., New York. $1.25.

A tale of a benighted English rural district a century ago or more. The "country gentlemen" are brutes; the laborers are slaves; the parson is a beast; Dick Heron, who persecutes the beautiful widow, Stella, and threatens to marry her by conquest, is a theatrical villain of black-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

est hue. Among these people comes a chivalrous, scholarly, unconquerable young man who refuses to fight duels, to accept defeat, or to yield to force. The romance has elements of strength, despite over-emphasis and too much fine writing.

Cloistered Romance (A). By Florence Olmstead. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.25.

The Catholic sisters who conduct the little home for old people here described are not too saintly to have each her own little foible or peculiarity; the old men and women are delightfully contrary, whimsical, and hard to manage; Hafiz, the cat, and Goliah, the mule, are as natural as life; a pretty love story gives the tinge of the romantic. In a perfectly unpretentious way this little book is captivating and joyous. We predict that it will have a wide reading.

Competitive Nephew (The). By Montague Glass. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.20.

Every one who knows "Potash and Perlmutter" will enjoy these new stories of the human and humorous side of the clothing trade. Some of them are as good as the stories that made the name of Montague Glass familiar; others decidedly are not.

Johnny Appleseed. By Eleanor Atkinson. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.25.

Making a whole book out of the story of Johnny Appleseed of necessity results in a loosely woven and often too tenuous creation. The romance is worth preserving, and the legend of the devoted planter of orchards is beautiful. He was known to the pioneers of the Middle West, and the present author has introduced many interesting historical incidents into her narrative, which is fully illustrated by Frank T. Merrill.

Peru. By E. C. Vivian. (South American Handbooks.) D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

Peru is ten times as large as New England. Of all the South American states Peru is the one whose ancient history is the most interesting. In pre-Spanish times Peru was far more thickly populated than at present, and for five centuries Cuzco was the capital of a great Inca empire. But a long period of culture preceded the Inca. The treatment of this subject in Lord Bryce's "South America," and in Hiram Bingham's "Across South America," should be read in connection with that in the present volume. But the latter-day interest in Peru is largely due to its very varied economic life, amply described in these pages, and also to the fact that, with the exception of Ecuador, Peru is likely to gain more than will any other South American republic from the Panama Canal. About four thousand miles are saved between the Peruvian port of Callao and Liverpool, and about six thousand two hundred and fifty miles between Callao and New York. Mr. Vivian's book will serve a good purpose if it further helps us to understand that Peru is of surpassing interest historically and economically.

Coasting Bohemia. By J. Comyns Carr. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

This book bears a poor title, nor is the title redeemed by the first chapter, on "Bohemia, Past and Present." Mr. Comyns Carr uses the name Bohemia to cover the life of those who have to do with art in any way—of painters, writers, actors, composers. He tells us much of Millais, Rossetti, Burne-Jones, Alma Tadema, Whistler, Meredith, Sir Henry Irving, Sir Arthur Sullivan, and there is throughout the book the welcome note of intimate acquaintance and vivid personality. The volume is a distinct help in the better understanding of the men who have made British art what it is, and in certain chapters, especially in the one on Burne-Jones, there are notable expressions of individual opinion.

Northern Patagonia: Character and Resources. Volume I. Texts and Maps by the Comisión de Estudios Hidrológicos. Baily Willis, Director, 1911–14. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $6.

This substantial volume, with its accompanying appendix in separate form, comprises an extremely valuable account of a little-known region. Doubtless that comparatively dry, cold, sterile country will continue to be little known in comparison with the rest of Argentina. But to those who would venture into Patagonia these books must form a source of authoritative information.

Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675–1690. By Charles McLean Andrews. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $3.

As Professor Andrews, the editor of this valuable volume, says in his Introduction, one cannot study the insurrections of 1675 to 1690 without noticing the dependence of one American colony upon another. It is not easy, however, to determine how far the revolts were due to England's efforts to enforce her commercial policy as embraced in the navigation acts and royal proclamations.

Tabular Views of Universal History. Compiled by George Palmer Putnam, A.M. Continued to date under the Editorial Supervision of George Haven Putnam, Litt.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.50.

The latest edition of this valuable reference book would have been more practical if a good many of the items in the most recent years had been omitted. But the student of history always needs at hand such a volume as this, presenting in parallel columns a chronological record of the more noteworthy events in the world's history.

Playmate of Philip II. By Lady Moreton. The John Lane Company, New York. $3.

Lady Moreton here describes the man who was very likely the original of the Duke in "Don Quixote"—namely, the Duke of Villa Hermosa. He was not only "the playmate of Philip the Second;" he was also "the Philoso-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pher of Aragon," as his royal playmate called him. Moreover, the Duke was a notable antiquary and collector. Finally, he fought well for his country in the wars in the second half of the sixteenth century. The book is full of the atmosphere of that century and aids not inconsiderably to our knowledge of it.

Books of the Apocrypha (The). By the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $3.

A strange fatality has befallen these books, an integral part of the Old Testament in the Greek version used in the early Church and quoted in the New Testament. Still accepted by the Church of Rome, they have been generally disused by Protestants, but their value is now obtaining recognition. Comprising the religious literature of Judaism during the three centuries before the Christian era in which the Greek spirit was making its mark upon the Jewish mind, the books of the Apocrypha illuminate the development of doctrine from the Old Testament to the New. The fact is suggested in a glimpse at the copious indices of illustrative passages appended to this volume.

Its author is Warden of the International Society for Promoting the Study of the Apocrypha. The first half of the volume discusses and answers a large variety of questions, some of them intricate, to which the extraordinary variety of the books gives rise. The second half takes up the books themselves in chronological order, descriptively and analytically, making large quotations and noting the values of certain books for New Testament study. The Apocrypha is, for those to whom it is practically unknown, the missing link in the progressive evolution of religious history and thought recorded in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. The present volume is an important addition to our apparatus for Biblical study.

Christian Psychology. By the Rev. James Stalker, D.D. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.25.

If professors of psychology have a doubt as to what can be meant by "Christian" psychology, they need telling that it is not a new kind but a distinct use of their science as a valuable auxiliary to the culture of Christian character and conduct; *e. g.*, the vitalizing truth of the kingdom of God on earth largely depends for its practical realization on the still inadequately used faculty of imagination. This is urgently needed to-day to picture effectively to Christian hearts the historic past of the kingdom in the struggles of its ancient prophets, pioneers, and martyrs, and of its modern missionary apostles, together with its ideal future in the consummation of its time-long evolution.

This treatise by Professor Stalker, an eminent theologian of the United Free Church of Scotland, is in most respects an up-to-date presentation of modern psychology in close alliance with its sister science of physiology. It consists of studies of various mental faculties that will be especially serviceable to pastors and preachers. Its interest is equally ethical and religious. It looks forward to the time when religion and morality, each fully developed, will "very nearly coincide." Appended to it is a most valuable paper on "Psychology and Evangelism," contributed by Professor Beckwith, of the Chicago Theological Seminary.

Rocky Mountain Wonderland (The). By E. Mills. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.75.

The author was very largely instrumental in securing the Rocky Mountain National Park. He knows the Colorado Rockies thoroughly, and for years he has been an enthusiast in arousing public sentiment and political action to the end that the wonderful region which contains Long's Peak, the "king of the Rockies," and perhaps a dozen other peaks which are over 13,000 feet high, and still forty others which exceed 12,000 feet, should become a National park and be preserved and cared for in the interest of the lovers of natural beauty. This book describes the region and its charms with vivid words. Some time this Colorado "wonderland" will be as well known as the Yosemite, and this volume ought to do much to bring about that result.

Life and Adventures of a Free Lance (The). By S. G. W. Benjamin. Free Press Company, Burlington, Vermont. $1.50.

This is an unusual book. It is the account of a varied career, and it also recounts the observations of an author, artist, journalist, and diplomatist, a man of interesting personality and experience. He had an almost prophetic vision of the present war. At the present time, when the European war is extending into Asia as well, and brings Constantinople and Asia Minor and Persia to our every-day notice, this volume has particular interest, especially with regard to Persia, where Mr. Benjamin, who died last year, was American Minister.

Life of Nietzsche (The). By Frau Förster-Nietzsche. Vol. I—The Young Nietzsche. Translated by Anthony M. Ludovici. Vol. II—The Lonely Nietzsche. Translated by Paul V. Cohn. The Sturgis & Walton Company, New York. $4 per vol.

Of these volumes from the hand of Nietzsche's devoted sister and comrade, Elizabeth, the first, "The Young Nietzsche," relates the course of his "happy years" from 1844 to 1876; the second, "The Lonely Nietzsche," is the story of his stormy career till the breakdown of his health in 1888. The two are a recent abridgment of her larger work in three volumes, the source of his biographies by various authors. One of these, by his admiring friend Halévy, has already been reviewed by The Outlook (March 4, 1911). As the sharer of his inmost thoughts, his sister's ascription to him of moral nobleness and religious earnestness is certainly contributory to a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just estimate of that "high poet and calamitous philosopher," as he has been styled. She testifies that "there was a mutual attraction between him and those who really took their Christianity seriously," and that "till the end of his career as a thinker he cherished a tender love for the Founder of Christianity." This, however, as she admits, he conceived as a religion "designed for the lowly born," not for "aristocratically minded, strong, and powerful men." The duel with modern civilization now waged by Germany was fought by Nietzsche. What stimulant toward it, if any, he contributed, is now an open question.

THE READER'S VIEW

JAPAN'S "MONROE DOCTRINE"

One hears it said frequently nowadays that Japan is simply establishing a "Monroe Doctrine" for the East in making her "demands" upon China. But in what way can this be compared to the American Monroe Doctrine? When did the United States ever make any demands upon a weak South American or Central American state? As I have understood it, the Monroe Doctrine was a kind of ultimatum issued by President Monroe to the strong European nations, warning them against regarding any part of the Americas as territory for European colonization. If the United States has ever contemplated establishing a protectorate over any of the South American nations, I am not aware of it. Or, if we have ever tried to control their national policies, I do not now recall it. Again, is it not a fact that, instead of making demands for special "concessions" or "privileges" advantageous to ourselves in a commercial or industrial way, we have seen the larger portion of the trade of these countries going to other nations, while we were guaranteeing their national existence?

As yet we have not been given the official statement of these "demands," but, going on the theory that "where there is so much smoke there must be a little fire," it seems that among them there are some of the nature of advantageous "concessions" and "privileges" is beyond question. However this may be, it seems to me that the distinction of making demands on a weak nation and on behalf of a weak nation is rather fundamental and should be kept clearly in mind when discussing what some people are pleased to call Japan's "Monroe Doctrine."

Chicago, Illinois. S.

[Since this letter was written the situation in regard to China and Japan has been greatly cleared up, as is shown in the account in another part of this paper.—THE EDITORS.]

CORPORATION REGULATION VERSUS CORPORATION SMASHING

I have read with great interest Mr. Theodore Price's articles in The Outlook. Especially am I interested in his comment on the Sherman Law and his desire for a body of men who would be able before an act is committed to determine its validity.

I wonder why the experience of California is not used to show the value of such a commission. The State Railroad Commission (more properly, Public Utilities) has been in existence almost four years. Its duties are manifold. Practically it works thus: The rate for long distance telephone messages from the East Bay district to San Francisco—a distance of about ten miles—was fifteen cents for *three* minutes, and five cents for each additional minute. On proper complaint, the Commission investigated the situation. The value of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company was investigated. The average length of thousands of calls was ascertained. This was found to be 1.89 minutes per call. They ordered the rate reduced to ten cents for the initial three minutes, and five cents for each additional minute. The company asked time to install additional apparatus because of the increased business that would accrue due to the low rate. The Commission gladly acquiesced, and now the company is doing a good business and the people are paying a fair rate.

This incident could be multiplied by the thousands. Railway rates are regulated, stock issues are supervised and controlled, unfair competition is forbidden, disputes between cities and public utilities are determined; indeed, the Commission now has all rate-making power for all public utilities.

Well might the new Trade Commission follow the wise example of the California State Railroad Commission; and after the public is educated to the idea the whole matter of the relation of business to the public will be well on the way to solution.

United States Senator Weeks, who is now in San Francisco, says:

> If there has been all of this uncertainty, hesitation, and doubt resulting from the operation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, what is likely to be the result from the enforcement of the Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, both of which were passed by Congress last year, which gave to a commission control over all the corporations of the country, numbering more than 30,000?

This is because he is either unfamiliar with the working of kindred commissions or is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attempting to bring disfavor upon an institution for reasons certainly not the highest.

Berkeley, California. IRA D. VAYHINGER.

PORTO RICO

A recent visit to the vastly interesting little island of Porto Rico has given me, as I think it would give any thoughtful American, a new conception as to its value and some little anxiety as to the way in which we are doing our work on the island.

Porto Rico as a settled community is very old, and its population averages nearly ten times the number to the square mile found on the mainland of the United States. It seems to have been a producing territory for generations and centuries, and I saw about its vastly picturesque hills much intensified cultivation. The thirty-six hundred square miles of this frostless land seem to include great potentialities in the way of crops needed by the United States, as well as a wonderfully great potentiality of scenic travel when we Americans begin to realize how much there is worth seeing under our own flag. Richly beautiful tropical scenery, magnificent and varied mountain views, picturesque and unspoiled towns and villages, the palm, the banana, and the cocoanut as landscape adjuncts, instead of the pine or maple, combine to make the trip to Porto Rico especially interesting to the tourist.

The United States has been handling Porto Rico since 1899. It has cleaned up and polished San Juan, the capital city, and less adequately cleaned up certain other of the communities. It has established a seemingly efficient insular police system, has permitted the enlistment into the United States army of a number of men who do not speak English, and in San Juan has arranged scenes far more grotesquely contrasting than any seen on the vaudeville stage, as, for instance, a smartly dressed traffic policeman complacently directing the movements of four oxen hitched by their foreheads to a vast prairie schooner drawn through the narrow streets of San Juan close to and mixed up with scores and hundreds of automobiles.

Seemingly as yet there is in evidence no consistent and definite colonial policy applied to Porto Rico. In the sixteen years of American occupation we have had nine governors in charge, no one of whom apparently was selected for any special relation to the handling of a curious and most interesting population; several of these governors have made reasonably good and several more have made most unreasonably bad. It is no wonder, therefore, that one finds the Porto Rican often lacking in respect for the United States.

The United States introduced education as well as cleanliness, and the school system seems to be of the most admirable character in its comprehensiveness. As I traveled about the island on the perfect roads, of which there are many hundreds of miles, I found school-houses of all grades along the roadside, filled with eager little brown boys and girls, working vigorously at the acquiring of the education which until the American advent was not within reach. One fine little fellow whom I picked up to take me about in Aguadilla told me that he had two teachers in Spanish and two teachers in English, and that he liked to learn the English language. He explained, however, that there was *a strike* being organized among the schoolchildren against the teaching of the English language in the schools conducted by the American Government. He said that the strike had been organized by *un politico*, by which information he introduced me to the prevalence of cheap—mighty cheap—American and Spanish politics, seemingly unchecked in this dependent island.

Later I saw in San Juan the children gathered in consequence of this absurd school strike. The cause of the strike was that one insolent boy who declined to recite in English was sent home by his teacher; he came back and actually organized a strike of other students, which has continued. "El Tiempo," a San Juan daily newspaper which I have read, gives a manifesto issued by the students and addressed "To the Parents of School-Boys." This document urges the fathers not to compel their children to go to school, and adds: "Let your sons be in this strike."

A long editorial printed in English in "El Tiempo" reviews the situation, indicating that there is an entire lack of firmness on the part of the existing American officials in charge of Porto Rico, and that denunciations of the United States have been encouraged.

It is apparent that the lack of a definite, assured, and continuing policy in dealing with the Spanish-American population in Porto Rico is not working toward the interest either of that population or of the United States; and it is also apparent that as conditions are at this time a most important insular possession of the United States is not being adequately handled.

Porto Rico produces great crops of sugar, of coffee, of tobacco, of cocoanuts, of grapefruit and oranges, and of pineapples. The new tariff has hit the island hard, but the great demand for sugar, due to foreign buying, has changed conditions materially, and the sugar situation is now encouraging rather than discouraging. The ease and facility with which 28,000 bags of raw sugar were brought on the steamer by which I returned home from one land under the American flag to another land under the American flag was visible proof of the value of near-by insular possessions able to produce for the United States many things that cannot be produced economically on the mainland.

J. HORACE MCFARLAND.

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BY THE WAY

Among the good deeds performed during the war an honorable place must be given to the heroic act of Dr. H. P. Packard, of the American mission of Googtopa, Persia, as related in the "Christian Register" by Mr. John Mooshie, himself a refugee from Urumia. Googtopa resisted the Kurds for three days, when the town was taken and a general massacre threatened. "The massacre," says Mr. Mooshie, "was prevented by the heroic action of Dr. Packard, who, amid a hail of bullets, at the risk of his life, found his way to the Sheik and pleaded for the safety of women and children. As a result of his pleading the fight was stopped, and from the people of the village who had not fled one thousand persons were escorted to the college of the American mission."

The "Railway Age Gazette" advocates the suppression of noise on the railways, especially at night. While being awakened in a sleeping-car by an outrageous noise at 2 A.M. is not the worst misfortune in the world, it says, this is not the way to make friends of passengers. Enginemen, express company employees, and the workmen around large stations all need admonition to good service in the direction of quiet, says the "Gazette." To these classes might be added the loud-voiced passengers who come into the Pullman at midnight and forget that they are entering a sleeping-car.

Boys and girls of the public schools of Portland, Oregon, made 3,500 gardens on vacant lots and back yards last season. They grew approximately $7,400 worth of vegetables in these gardens, some of which produced at the rate of $200 an acre. The garden plot of one school was covered with stones. The principal used the baseball enthusiasm of the boys to clear the ground. He put a galvanized iron tub in one corner of the lot and invited the boys to show their marksmanship. They soon filled the tub!

Mr. George Wharton James, in his book "Indian Blankets and Their Makers," tells of a rare find that he accidentally made in one of his trips through the Navaho country. Amid the litter of a corral he picked up what he at first thought was a gunnysack, begrimed and discolored. He gave the owner half a dollar for it. After repeated washings it turned out to be one of the much-prized old "bayeta" blankets, one of the finest specimens of its kind. Mr. James has refused three hundred dollars for this exquisite example of the early work of the Navahos.

A very curious social custom of the Indians who make these artistic blankets is described by Mr. James. According to rigid tribal etiquette, he says, a Navaho man must never, after he marries, see his mother-in-law. This taboo is observed with the utmost care by both parties to the relationship. Mr. James, during his visits to these Indians, tried on several occasions, by subterfuge, to bring son-in-law and mother-in-law together, but always failed. The origin of the custom is unknown, but the author suggests that it "conduces to domestic peace."

Paterson, New Jersey, the home of silk mills, is trying to start the fashion of using silk for men's garments. Its Chamber of Commerce, it is reported, is soon to have a "silk suit jubilee" when every man present will wear a suit of this novel material. If the innovation becomes fashionable, it will introduce a welcome variety in men's dress.

An editorial in the "House Beautiful" declares that the decorations of the average house to-day suggest "a bad case of spotted fever," and continues: "Every one says, on going into a certain house, 'What a perfectly restful place this is!'—and then goes away to realize that he remembers nothing about the decorations." Plain tan walls, dull blue carpet, mahogany furniture—these, the article says, constituted the "perfect background" for the charming hostess who is the visitor's chief memory of his stay at this simple, quiet home.

When the Mayor of New York City said, at the recent dinner of the Mounted Policemen's Association, "There is not any job in the police department I'd rather have than that of a mounted policeman," the din of whistles and cheers was deafening. The love of a good horse is still strong in the breasts of the active young men of America.

American posters came in for criticism in an address at a recent poster exhibition in New York City. American business men, said the critic, are poor buyers of art as a rule, and therefore American posters are inferior to those of Europe, which are the product of trained artists. The best posters, said the speaker, have no background and not too much lettering, with brilliant but simple coloring—the use of many colors being a waste of material, as the eye does not see them all.

Billy Sunday at a recent meeting announced that he had refused an offer of $100,000 salary to pose for a moving picture concern. "They call me a grafter," he is reported as saying, "but I wouldn't do it for ten million dollars a year."

The jitney bus has acquired such vogue in its brief career that a National convention of jitney men has been held. It met at Kansas City. The movement has a newspaper, the "Jitney Bus," published in New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED